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Gandhi Purdah Trial
Memorial to Gandhi
& Some articles about
him.

H.T. 21-4-49 searchlight 20-4-49

Amritsar Memorial To Kasturba

Foundation Of Maternity Centre Laid

(From Our Correspondent)

AMRITSAR, April 20.—A girls' school and a maternity centre are to be opened by the local branch of the Kasturba Memorial Trust in Chita Kalan, a village about eight miles from here. The foundation-stone of the school building was laid by Sardar Narindar Singh, Deputy Commissioner, on Sunday in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering.

S. Dharam Singh, president of the Municipal Committee, Amritsar, Dr Satya Paul, Shrimati Parkash Kaur, M.L.A., and several other leaders were present.

The Deputy Commissioner, addressing the gathering, spoke in glowing terms of the selfless work done by Kasturba for the uplift of the women of the country, and urged those present to follow in her footsteps.

Dr Satya Paul said that Kasturba was an ideal Indian woman. Shrimati Parkash Kaur stressed the need of providing education to village girls.

Shrimati Vidya Vati Seth, Mr Padam Parkash Maheshwari, Seth Radha Kishen and others also addressed the meeting.

THAT CHEQUE

Every one of us would like to have a nice, little glance at that cheque for five crores of rupees, presented to the Congress chiefs on behalf of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

It not only arouses child-like curiosity in us, but also evokes thankfulness and admiration for the fulfilment of the voluntary pledge taken by India's industrialists and the collection of the amount in the short space of eight months.

It was a remarkable achievement. As everyone knows, it owed its success to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who conceived it; Mr. G. D. Birla who took charge of the drive for collections, and Babu Rajendra Prasad, who has been supplying the moral inspiration for the whole movement.

If 2,200 men and firms could have done that, how many more lakhs could be collected by the thousands upon thousands of small industries, proprietors and professional men if they but make the effort? Dr. Rajendra Prasad has, therefore, rightly appealed for another concerted drive and has appealed for a large number of workers. The general public have contributed five crores themselves, but that again is only a fraction of what could possibly be collected from them if they were only approached.

The occasion of the presentation was turned to advantage by Sardar Patel to speak about the large avenues of co-operation between the Government and business in the large sphere of economic development for the good of the people. As Sardar Patel remarked, if industrialists followed the Gandhian theory of trusteeship, there would be no need for estrangement between the haves and have-nots. Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, the energetic chairman of the Industrial Committee of the G.N.M.F., spoke but the barest truth when he said they could raise the standard of living of the masses by a third in five years and a hundred per cent in fifteen years.

The object of the Fund is to spread the gospel of Gandhi, which India will determinedly pit against the estranging and destroying doctrine of Marx. The ideals of social justice can be realised through Sarvodaya, which is India's reply to a hundred "isms" imported from abroad but impossible to thrive on the soil trodden by Gandhi while alive, and filled with his spirit and philosophy after his death.

THE LEADER

THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 1949.

Life is greater than all art. I would go even further and declare that the man whose life comes nearest to perfection is the greatest artist; for what is art without the sure foundation and framework of a noble life.—MAHATMA GANDHI.

NEED FOR COOPERATION

VERY impressive speeches were delivered at Sardar Patel's house at New Delhi on Saturday last when the Industrial Committee of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund presented to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, chairman of the Fund, cheques of the value of Rs. 5,07,51,151. According to the formula devised by Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the initiation of the Fund, every person was expected to pay ten days' net earnings to the Fund. Calculated on this basis industry's share of contribution to the Fund would have been about Rs. 1 1/2 crores. But Sardar Patel suggested and industrialists agreed that industry should contribute Rs. 5 crores to the Fund. The industrialists have more than fulfilled their promise. Besides the Rs. 5,07,51,151 they paid to Dr. Rajendra Prasad on Saturday the industrialists hope to collect Rs. 50 lakhs more by April 30 when the Fund will close. It appears from the speech of Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, chairman of the Industrial Committee of the Fund, that 'the credit for collecting this huge sum is largely due to Mr. Ghanshyamdas Birla, who has devoted a good deal of his time and energy to the organisation of the various industrial committees and seen to it that the funds were collected'. The industrialists' generous and prompt response to the national leaders' appeal symbolises the industrialists' sympathy with national interests. It follows that the greater the progress industry makes, the more contribution it will be able to make to the moral and material advancement of the country. The fact that 10 days' net earnings of Indian industry amount to only about Rs. 1 1/2 crores shows how backward industrially India is at the present moment. Steps should be taken without delay to accelerate the pace of industrialisation.

This subject was discussed in the speeches delivered at Sardar Patel's house on Saturday. Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai pointed out that the one ambition of the industrial community had always been to see that the standard of living of the masses was raised. It is possible to achieve this object at an early date. Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai said, 'We believe and hope that it is possible to raise the standard of living of the masses by one-third in five years, reaching a target of 100 per cent within 15 years'. The uplift of the masses needs the immediate attention of the Government. The present economic condition of the country is the basic cause of many ills which afflict India today. It is the basic cause of the low standard of public health. It is the basic cause of illiteracy. It is the basic cause of discontent which provides a fertile field for the growth of Communism and other isms. What do the Government propose to do about it? Sardar Patel's reply was very encouraging. Referring to Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai's plan for raising the standard of living Sardar Patel said, 'That is a task which all of you and all of us have to share and it behoves us to sit together and evolve a plan for doing so.' The Deputy Prime Minister realizes that the standard of living cannot be raised unless the country is industrialised and that industrialisation is not possible unless industrialists receive the help and cooperation of the Government and the various sections of the people. He promised the industrialists whole-hearted cooperation. He said, 'Many things have happened, many difficulties have occurred which have created some distrust and suspicion between ourselves. I know full well that if we do not utilize your talents and resources, the country cannot make any progress. For this reason, it is essential that there should be complete understanding and cooperation between us.'

Sardar Patel's statement is very opportune. A section of publicmen, including Congressmen, talk glibly of liquidating the industrialists. They do not realize the harm to nationalist interests such senseless talk does. India's most urgent need is increased production. If industrialists are liquidated production will decrease not increase. Industrialists are as essential to the industrial development of India as administrators are to the efficient administration of the country. What the industrialists are capable of achieving is indicated by the fact that they built the present imposing industrial structure of India in spite of the hostile attitude of the British Government. What will they not accomplish if they receive the support and encouragement of the Government? Sardar Patel's speech augurs well for future relations between the Government and industrialists and for the future of Indian industry.

Tribune 24.4.49

RS. ONE LAKH FOR GANDHI FUND

(From Our Correspondent)

FAIZABAD, April 21.—Dr. Rajendra Prasad is arriving here on April 23 for a few hours' stay. He is likely to address a public meeting. Arrangements are being made to present him a purse of Rs. 1 lakh for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

Hindu 24.4.

MEMORIAL TO GANDHIJI

KAKA KALELKAR'S MISSION

AHMEDABAD, April 23.

Kaka Kelelkar, an old associate of Mahatma Gandhi, who has been entrusted by the Gandhi National Memorial Trust with collecting all important material about Mahatma Gandhi, arrived here to-day after a tour of Saurashtra where he met the Mahatma's co-students and contemporaries in childhood.

He saw at Porbandar, the house in which of Mahatma Gandhi, the house in which Mrs. Kasturba Gandhi was born. He suggested that the house should be acquired and preserved as a permanent memorial.

Kaka Kalelkar intends to go to South Africa in the course of this year to collect material about Mahatma Gandhi with the help of his son, Mr. Manilal Gandhi. He will visit the Phoenix Settlement in South Africa which was the first Ashram founded by Mahatma Gandhi and is now being managed by his son, Mr. Manilal Gandhi. Kaka Kalelkar will prepare a plan for its preservation as one of the permanent memorials of Mahatma Gandhi.

Kaka Kalelkar said: "I am in search of all articles of historical or sentimental value which were used by Mahatma Gandhi. They will be collected in a museum or museums to be opened in different parts of India. I am also visiting all places connected with his activities and preparing plans for their preservation as permanent memorials. I have prepared the plan of a museum which, while following the principles of museum architecture, has a semblance of the charkha round which Mahatma Gandhi wove his philosophy.

"We have no idea of touching the numerous private houses where Mahatma Gandhi stayed as guest during his repeated sojourns. We shall, however, place marble tablets in public institutions where he did some work of national importance. We contemplate starting study circles and opening Gandhi Libraries where all books written by, or on, Mahatma Gandhi will be collected. There is an idea to take out a special train containing all the articles and books connected with Mahatma Gandhi round the whole country.

"All this work of collecting and preserving the old relics of Mahatma Gandhi is intended to spread throughout the world the gospel of Sarvodaya—non-violent society in which the greatest good of all will be sought without a single exception with special solicitude for the backward, downtrodden and lost communities. This is in contradistinction to the principle of the greatest good of the greatest number which tolerates the tyranny of the minority by the majority. The Sarvodaya principle of Mahatma Gandhi is also described as that of the lowest and the last. We have no idea of sending missionaries but we shall carry out the principle of Mahatma Gandhi in India.—API.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

Through the columns of your esteemed paper, I would like to suggest the following to the President All India Congress Committee in the interest of national economy and abolishing hunger and malnutrition in this country. The amount collected in Gandhi Memorial Fund be given on loan to the Central Government at reasonable interest to be utilized for the early execution of Bakhra and Kosi Kalan projects, when the Central Government is approaching the international banks for the loan for the execution of these projects. The early execution of at least one project will save a lot of money which is being spent on the import of foodgrains. Feeding and clothing the millions and abolishing hunger and malnutrition will be the biggest memorial for Mahatmaji.

The memorials can be constructed at some later date and with more money accumulated through interest. The construction of memorial will no doubt be delayed for some time. This can be easily done to make our country self-sufficient in food earlier than 1915 which year has been decided by the conference of agriculture officials recently held in New Delhi to attain India's target of food self-sufficiency. Moreover the early execution of projects will enable the Central and Provincial Governments to rehabilitate the displaced refugees and engage them in new cottage industries which will begin to function when plenty of power is available.

S. N. DARGAN

New Delhi.

SIMLA MALL

Mall is the most important thoroughfare in Simla. The traffic on it is increasing day by day thus throwing most of the traffic laws to wind. One can see groups of people both young and old standing in the middle of the road and creating all sort of nuisance. Then there is as usual a regular crowd of people around the Scandal Point which is a legacy of the past and this crowd is swelling day by day. Also one can see people moving persistently on the wrong side. Spitting or blowing nose is too common, and nobody seems to be at all bothered of Rs. 50 penalty for spitting or creating other nuisance on the Mall. To remedy the above state of affairs I suggest the following.

More police men should be posted on the Mall and they should humbly disperse all those persons that dawdle in the middle of road. If such crowds even after their requests persist ther other action should be taken against them.

Heavy crowds should not be allowed to linger on around the Scandal Point. Formerly Hava Ghar above the Scandal Point used to lessen such rush. Now this Hava Ghar is being converted into Municipal Reading Room. It may be suggested that an open sitting shed should be constructed on the first or second storey of this reading room. This besides providing sitting accommodation to the old people would also relieve congestion around Scandal Point.

People should be requested not to move on the wrong side. I have often seen that the policemen on duty usually refrain from requesting such offenders. But suddenly on some fine evening the gang would start rooting out all those who fail to move an inch from right to left or vice versa and march them all to the Police Station and start fining them haphazardly. This practice is objectionable and should be ended soon. Politeness costs nothing and if police men politely request such offenders it is hoped they would be more cautious in future and there will not be any repetition of such mistake! Further the demarcation line in the middle of the road should be made more bright so that people can clearly distinguish the right and left limits.

Spitting or blowing nose is very unhygienic. It is against all civic laws. People in their own interest should abstain from such mal-practices.

A word or two about the car traffic on the Mall. One is at a loss to know why any car whether it belongs to Governor or Prime Minister should be allowed on the Mall when their residences are easily accessible by car from Cart Road. This is again a legacy from the past and sooner this practice is stopped better it would be.

VIDYA SAGAR MAHAJAN.

Simla.

OUR STUDENTS

I was surprised to read the article under the caption "Our Students" by Mr. Ram Kumar Luthra in your paper dated April 19, 1949. I want to raise my voice in defence of my fellow students.

Mr. Luthra has presented some sort of a data and no doubt his data supports his statement. He is of the opinion that students are not doing justice to their studies. It would have been much better had he given the two sides of the picture.

A majority of students fail to get second classes, but may I ask Mr. Luthra the reason for this? After all the majority cannot be on the wrong path. There must be some defect with the teacher.

In our colleges we don't get right guidance. How can we show good results?

The crux of the problem is that the fault lies with our teachers but it does not mean that no teacher is capable.

Another point is that with the influx of refugees admission to colleges has increased tremendously, but the staff has not increased in the same ratio. Colleges are overcrowded; a laboratory meant for 60 students is accommodating actually double that number. There is scarcity of material, apparatus, trained staff. All these factors place the student at a disadvantage.

Mr. Luthra says that students placed in third class should not be allowed admissions. Perhaps he has a curious notion that all students who got third class are unintelligent.

Does he not know that Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore was not a good student? Our popular Prime Minister has acknowledged that he was not an exceptional student. Now he is considered to be the best brain in the world.

I will request the authorities concerned to appoint the best staff, equip laboratories properly and see that students get right guidance and education. Results will be better.

RAJINDER SINGH

Amritsar.

E.P. UNIVERSITY CLERKS

In the matter of recruitment and promotions of the clerical establishment the East Punjab University follows the rules and procedure adopted by the Provincial Government. In the past when there had been some attempts for direct recruitment in the Senior Clerical grades, the higher authorities not only rejected such proposals but the Syndicate in unambiguous terms gave assurance to the staff that promotions would be according to seniority and merit. But after the partition the authorities in order to meet their personal obligations again seem to have disregarded the rulings of the Syndicate and the Fundamental Service Rules.

They have actually recruited persons of inferior qualifications from outside the office cadre by superseding the rightful and legitimate claims of the old and efficient staff. This is a clear case of violation of the decision of the Syndicate and breach of faith.

During the last few months the number of such supersessions has exceeded half a dozen. This has created a serious and intolerable situation for the staff and under the circumstances normal working in the office is bound to suffer to the great disadvantage of the public in general and examinees in particular.

It is therefore time that the members of the Syndicate and the new Vice-Chancellor took the matter in their own hands and redressed the legitimate grievances of the staff.

A SUFFERER

BADMINTON TOURNAMENT

A Badminton Tournament was organised by the authorities of S.A. Jain College, Ambala City, in the second week of March. Players from various Colleges in the East Punjab participated in the tournament. Regular matches continued for one week till the final matches were decided. It is a matter of great regret that the organisers of the tournament postponed the final matches for a fortnight. But until now there is absolutely no indication of holding the final matches.

SUDARSHAN BHATIA

Ambala City.

SHREE GOPAL ANNUAL SPORTS

I have read with great surprise the news in your issue of the 16th instant on page 8 under the head 'Shree Gopal Annual Sports' about the following results:

Badminton: Kanhaya Lal beat N. K. Sondhi.

Tennis: Palwa beat N. K. Sondhi, Pathak and Jhanjee beat Sondhi and Mrs. Palwa.

Let me say that the above-mentioned finals were never played on account of my foot sprain.

N. K. SONDHI.

Abdullapur.

PUBLICITY FOR PICTURES

Through the columns of your esteemed daily, I beg to voice the resentment of the public against the method of giving publicity to pictures. I do not understand why cinema-managers have taken to so much publicity for their pictures. Their right to do so is unquestioned but only so long as it is within

Indian News Chronicle 25-4-49

WORLD PEACE ONLY THROUGH GANDHIJI'S TEACHINGS

— DR. PRASAD

(From Our Correspondent)

FAIZABAD, April 24.—Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President, Gandhi National Memorial Fund, speaking at a public meeting here yesterday said that there was only one way to repay the debt that we owed to Gandhiji and that was to follow his teachings.

"There can be no peace and prosperity in this world by arms. If the world wants to exist it must follow the path laid down by Gandhiji", Dr. Prasad said and added: "There is increased activity now for the collection of funds. Had this activity been shown in the beginning, a very huge amount would have so far been collected. There are people who are ready and willing to pay but there is no body to approach them. There should be house to house collection."

In conclusion Dr. Prasad said that the public should know the constructive programme laid down by Gandhiji and establish such a society where there was no oppression, no scope for fraud and where all lived in peace and harmony. "The memory of Gandhiji is bound to remain even when all the memorials of clay fall down", he said.

Earlier the President of the Local Fund Committee announced a donation of rupees one and a half lakhs from the district towards the Fund. This included a sum of Rs. 10,000 donated by the Faizabad Municipal Board. An address of welcome was also presented to Dr. Prasad by the local Municipal Board.

Tribune of India 25-4

PRESERVATION OF MAHATMA'S RELICS

Kaka Kalelkar's Scheme

From Our Staff Correspondent

AHMEDABAD, April 23: A comprehensive scheme for the establishment of a central Museum where Mahatma Gandhi's relics, such as letters, articles, and documents, written by him or at his dictation, recordings of his speeches, photographs, paintings and cartoons, can be housed permanently is being prepared by Mamatma's life-long friend, Kakasaheb Kalelkar. It will be known as the "Gandhi Memorial Museum," and will be located at a place to be finally selected by the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. The Museum will also have, among other things of historical or sentimental value connected with Gandhiji, a telescope which he frequently used during his incarceration at Yeravda. It was his hobby to study astronomy.

There is also a proposal to fit up a railway train carrying part of Gandhiji's relics, and to run it from place to place, so that people, particularly villagers, will have an opportunity to view the valuable exhibits, Kakasaheb Kalelkar, who has been specially entrusted with the collection of the relics, has been touring different places, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, president of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, is of the opinion that it is highly necessary to collect and preserve all important material about the "Father of the Nation" before it becomes too late. "India has been criticised for its proverbial neglect of its historical material", he said. "Let us not be guilty of the same neglect towards the rich material connected with Gandhiji's life and work."

PRESERVATION OF PLACES

Places proposed to be preserved are the Satyagraha Ashram, the little hut at Dandi, where Gandhi ended his march after the salt satyagraha, the Sewagram Ashram at Wardha, and the Phoenix settlement in South Africa, built by Gandhiji to conduct a weekly newspaper. This Ashram is now managed by Mr. Manilal Gandhi. Another place is the Bhangi colony at Delhi, where Gandhiji used to stay. "Such places must be preserved in their original condition as national assets; they should not be sold to anyone," said Kakasaheb Kalelkar, who has arrived here from Saurashtra. He added that there was no idea of acquiring houses in which Gandhiji stayed as a guest, but, it was proposed to have marble tablets there. Rashtriya Shala at Rajkot, where Gandhiji had fasted, was such a place. It was also the object of the Memorial Trust to collect books written about Mahatma Gandhi and against him, so that they could be treasured in libraries in several parts of India and abroad, the ultimate aim being to establish study circles where scholars believing in his message could study his teachings and try to evolve and establish non-violent societies throughout the world.

The ideal of non-violent societies aid Kakasheb, is the "sarvodaya" movement. "Sarvodaya" means uplift all without any exception. A friend recently translated "sarvodaya" as "untyodaya", meaning thereby the uplift of the lowest and the least. We want to spread the message of "sarvodaya" throughout the world.

While in Saurashtra, Kakasaheb visited Gandhiji's birthplace at Porbunder, as well as Rajkot, where he spent his childhood. The Saurashtra Government have helped Kakasaheb to the utmost and have set apart a sum to assist him in his work. He also wished to acquire the house in which Kasturba was born in Porbunder.

MAHATMA'S WILL Claims To Copyright Of Certain Books

From Our Staff Correspondent

AHMEDABAD, April 23: Two objections have been received from Madras in connection with the probate of Mahatma Gandhi's will for which application has been made to Mr. M. S. Patil, the District and Sessions Judge of Ahmedabad.

One of the applicants, Mr. A. L. Natarajan, managing partner of Pudumai Padaippakam, a book-publishing firm, submitted through his advocate that he had a claim on certain publications of the writings, speeches, etc., of Gandhiji, made by him with special permission alleged to have been given him by Mr. K. G. Mashruwalla.

As the advocate wanted some time for his client to put in a written objection to the grant of the probate, the judge asked him to do so by April 27. Another claimant—Mr. S. Ganesan—who addressed a letter to the judge, claimed, inter alia, copyright for the publication "Satyagraha in South Africa," published in English. The book, he said, had been specially translated by Mr. V. G. Desai and corrected by Gandhiji for him.

He had also published numerous books, specially "Young India", volumes one to three, during the lifetime of Gandhiji and with his blessings, and the rights for these belonged to him. He further claimed the right to publish fresh translations as and when wanted in future. Inasmuch as he had used and was still using all the profits from the publications for constructive work, he claimed the right to continue his activities in that connection.

The judge declined to take judicial notice of the letter since it had been received by post.

Mahatma's Teachings

From Our Staff Correspondent

BANGALORE, April 24: "The best way of perpetuating the memory of Mahatma Gandhi is by remembering his teachings and principles and trying to practice them in everyday life", said Dr. Rajendra Prasad, unveiling a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi here today.

In reply to a civic address presented by the Bangalore City Municipality, Dr. Prasad referred to civic work as a great opportunity and training ground for people to shoulder and discharge greater responsibilities for the country if and when they were called upon to do so.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad said that Mysore had so far collected more than Rs. 16 lakhs for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund and when the collections close by the end of this month the total was likely to be above Rs. 20 lakhs.

H. T. 25-4-

Grant Of Probate Of Gandhiji's Will

Two Objections Received In Ahmedabad Court

AHMEDABAD, April 23.—Two objections have been received in the District Court of Ahmedabad against the application made by Mr Harhar Parikh for the grant of a probate of Mahatma Gandhi's will regarding the copyright of his writings and publications.

The District Judge refused to take notice of the objection received by post from Mr S. Ganesan of Madras claiming copyright for publication of the book *Satyagraha in South Africa*. Mr Ganesan stated that the book was specially translated for him in English by Mr V. G. Desai and corrected by Mahatma Gandhi himself. He had paid about Rs 1,500 to Mr Desai as translation charges. This was known to Mahatma Gandhi and others.

Mr Ganesan also claimed rights to publish again innumerable books specially *Young India* volumes one, two and three published by him during the lifetime of Mahatma Gandhi and with his blessings. He added that he was using all the profits from the publications for constructive work.

The second objection was presented through a pleader by Mr A. L. Natrajan of Madras claiming to have published certain speeches and writings of Mahatma Gandhi under special permission given to him by Mr K. G. Mashruwala, Secretary of Mahatma Gandhi. The Court gave him time to file the objection till April 27.—A.P.I.

Collection Drive For Memorial Fund

CITY DIVIDED INTO 40 WARDS

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

In order to organize a drive for collections for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, a meeting of the representatives of various trades and associations and prominent citizens was held in the Town Hall, Delhi, on Saturday. About 200 persons attended.

The meeting, which was called by the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, was addressed by Dr Yudhvir Singh, President of the Delhi Municipal Committee, Mr Deshbandhu Gupta and Mr Radha Raman. They stressed the need for a collection drive to reach Delhi's target of Rs 25 lakhs before the Fund closed on April 30.

A central committee with about 40 prominent citizens under the presidentship of Mr Radha Raman was formed. It was decided to divide the city into 40 wards with a sub-committee for each.

The office of the committee has been located at the Darbar Hall of the Delhi Municipal Committee and will remain open from 8 a.m. to 12 noon and from 4 to 8 p.m. every day until the closing date.

Collection Of Gandhian Relics

AHMEDABAD, April 23.—Kaka Kalelkar, an associate of Gandhiji, who has been entrusted by the Gandhi National Memorial Trust with collecting all important material about Gandhiji, arrived here today after a tour of Saurashtra, where he met Gandhiji's co-students and contemporaries in childhood.

He saw at Porbandar, birth-place of Gandhiji, the house in which Mrs Kasturba Gandhi was born. He suggested that the house should be acquired and preserved as a permanent memorial.

Kaka Kalelkar intends to go to South Africa during this year to collect material about Gandhiji with the help of his son, Mr Manilal Gandhi. He will visit the Phoenix Settlement in South Africa which was the first *ashram* founded by Gandhiji and is now being managed by Mr Manilal Gandhiji. Kaka Kalelkar will prepare a plan for its preservation as one of the permanent memorials of Gandhiji.

Kaka Kalelkar said: "I am in search of all articles of historical or sentimental value which were used by Gandhiji." They will be collected in a museum or museums to be opened in different parts of India. I am also visiting all places connected with his activities and preparing plans for their preservation as permanent memorials. I have prepared the plan of a museum which, while following the principles of museum architecture, has a semblance of the *charkha* round which Gandhiji wove his philosophy.

Study Circles

"We have no idea of touching the numerous private houses where Gandhiji stayed as guest during his repeated sojourns. We shall, however, place marble tablets in public institutions where he did some work of national importance. We contemplate starting study circles and opening Gandhi libraries where all books written by, or on, Gandhiji will be collected. There is a proposal to take out a special train containing all the articles and books connected with Gandhiji round the country.

"All this work of collecting and preserving the old relics is intended to spread throughout the world the gospel of Sarvodaya—a non-violent society in which the greatest good of all will be sought without a single exception, with special solicitude for the backward and downtrodden communities. The Sarvodaya principle of Gandhiji is also described as uplift of the lowest and the last. We have no idea of sending missionaries, but we shall carry out the principle of Gandhiji in India."—A.P.I.

India Express 25-4

Indian Express

MADRAS: MON., APR. 25, 1949

THE LAST WEEK

FROM BANARAS CITY BABU Rajendra Prasad, Chairman of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, has sent out a last minute appeal for stepping up collections. "I appeal to all Congress workers and others interested in the Smarak Nidi to do their utmost within the last week", he says, "and to announce the result of their intense effort wherever possible at public meetings". Two ideas are implicit in the statement: (1) that there will be no more postponement of the closing date for collections; and (2) that public workers should make an all-out effort to reach the target. This target, it will be recalled, is Rs. 30 crores and the result of countrywide collections so far has been a little over Rs. 10 crores. Out of this total nearly half has come from industrialists of the country, Indian and foreign, and their effort has been duly commended at a function last week. And when it is remembered that the pledge to collect Rs. 5 crores was entirely voluntary on the part of the industrialists, its fulfilment becomes the more praiseworthy. This amount was subscribed to by just 2,200 donating firms, in the short interval of eight months. The prospect of much larger collections from this source would have been brighter were their numbers greater in a not so backward a country as India in the industrial sphere. Of wider significance is the promise held out by their spokesman on the occasion to extend co-operation based on mutual trust and confidence to the wider sphere of economic activity. Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai has offered the services of the community to raise the standard of living of the masses by a third in five years and a hundred per cent in fifteen.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad has drawn attention to a most encouraging factor by concurrently announcing that contributions to the Fund from the general public have also exceeded Rs. 5 crores. But considering the numerous potential donors ready at hand and the limitless store of public goodwill for the unique cause, the result cannot be considered satisfactory; hence the need for an all-out effort to step up the collections. Babu Rajendra Prasad has been providing the required driving force in recent weeks by himself undertaking, despite his weak health, a countrywide tour for the purpose of collection. And his effort has been yielding ample dividend. One has only to cite the latest figures to illustrate this fact. In just two days he has been able to collect from Basti, Gonda, Gorakpur and Deoria districts of the United Provinces a sum of Rs. 3,80,000. And in Banaras alone, we are told, Rs. 1,53,000 have been received comprising among others, Rs. 25,000 from the Municipal Board, Rs. 54,000 from the District Congress Committee, Rs. 50,000 from the Banaras State and the State Congress Committee and Rs. 10,000 from the City Congress Committee. And a sum of Rs. 58,000 has already been remitted by the Government servants. His success in his own home province of Bihar has been even more phenomenal. All this goes to show that provided the effort is made, the public are not slow to respond and a cumulative drive in the last week of collections should enable the nation to reach the target.

Babu Rajendra Prasad is scheduled to tour the Madras Province in the ensuing week which is also the concluding week of collections to the Gandhi Smrak Nidhi. Workers throughout the Province must be devoting all their energies to the task and we have no doubt that no effort will be spared to speed up collections. Madras has always been in the vanguard of Congress activity in the past; it must not lag behind in the matter of demonstrating its devotion to the Congress and its mentor, Mahatma Gandhi when an occasion and an opportunity for such demonstration have together been provided. It is superfluous to delineate the objects of the Fund. The public have been duly told about them. It is up to those who have not yet subscribed to the Fund, therefore, to do so and for those who have not done their bit to canvas support so far also to do it. The slogan for the week on everybody's lips must be "swell the Funds", and at the end of the period it must be possible to render a good account of ourselves. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has directed the authorised persons to deposit the collections in banks on the 30th instant and also to report to the central office by May 7 at the latest, so that an authorised statement of the total collections may be issued as early as possible for the information of the public. The week is therefore an occasion not merely to receive from Gandhiji's countrymen the measure of their love, esteem and affection for their great contemporary but to carry his message to every house and village in the Province; full advantage must be taken of the opportunity to spread the gospel of service, truth and non-violence and to make up every pie that might be utilised for spreading that gospel.

16 Lakhs For Gandhi Fund In Mysore

RAJEN BABU RECEIVES PURSES IN BANGALORE

(From Our Correspondent)

BANGALORE, Apr. 21.

The Gandhi memorial fund was intended to help the spread of constructive programmes of Gandhiji, said Dr Rajendra Prasad, addressing a public meeting here.

Rajen Babu was informed that Mysore had so far collected more than Rs. 16 lakhs for the fund and when the collections closed by the end of this month the total was likely to be above 20 lakhs.

Dr. Prasad arrived here today by air. He was received at the aerodrome by the Ministers and local office bearers of the Gandhi Fund.

Purses containing the collections in Bangalore were presented to Dr. Prasad this evening at two separate public meetings. A small silver plate in which the presentation was made was auctioned at the public meeting at Subbas Nagar and fetched Rs. 1011. A sandalwood portrait of Gandhiji presented by a municipal councillor was sold for Rs. 900. A number of trinkets contributed towards the fund were also auctioned for huge prices.

Addressing the meeting, Dr. Prasad said he was very thankful that the industrialists had more than fulfilled their promise and given over rupees five crores for the fund.

Owing to illhealth he added, he could not fulfil his desire to undertake extensive tours and contact the general public. That would have served a dual purpose—make collections and carry the message of the Mahatma to every door. I shall be satisfied if our workers have approached every house. If this is done the purpose of the fund is served.

Dr. Prasad said, 'Mahatma Gandhi does not require any memorial. He has said and done enough to keep his memory green for ever'.

Dr. Prasad recalled his recent visit to a village in the United Provinces where he saw the house in which once Lord Buddha sojourned. It was in ruins. A few tumbled down walls marked the place. The sight of this, said Dr. Prasad, filled me with the thought that if we erect a brick and mortar memorial for Gandhiji, the same fate will overtake it. On the other hand the spirit of the Buddha remained a potent force in the hearts of millions'.

It was Mahatma Gandhi's desire to create society on the principles of truth and ahimsa where there would be no death from hunger or want. Swaraj for him was only a means towards the achievement of this ideal.

Although he won Swaraj for India, he could not realise his dreams. He left his constructive programme and the fund was intended to help it spread. Dr. Rajendra Prasad said he had undertaken this tour to carry his message to every door and not merely to collect funds for the memorial.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad was accorded a civic reception by the Bangalore Municipality where he unveiled a life size portrait of Mahatma Gandhi.

Rajen Babu's Condition For Touring Tanjore Dt.

EXPECTS TWO LAKHS FOR GANDHI FUND

MAYURAM, Apr. 22.

It was announced at the Tanjore District Congress Working Committee meeting yesterday at Tiruvidaimarudur that Babu Rajendra Prasad has consented to tour Tanjore District for a day if Rs. 2 lakhs was assured to the Gandhi Memorial Fund. Mr. A. M. Swaminatha Chettiar presided.

By a resolution the Working Committee requested the primary Congress Committee to expedite the collection in order to reach the target, and to send the same to the District Committee before Apr. 28.

Messrs. Marudayya Thevar and R. M. Govindaswamy Chettiar were appointed auditors to audit last year's accounts of the District Congress Committee Mr. Thevar was also appointed to audit the accounts of the Kumbakonam Congress Committee.

The Government were requested by another resolution to stay the sanction and expenditure of Rs. 10 lakhs allotted from the District Board Funds to the Tanjore T. B. Hospital. It was argued that since Rs. 30 lakhs would be needed for a full working hospital, until Rs. 20 lakhs were collected by way of donations by the hospital committee, there was no justification for the grant from the District Board funds. Messrs. V. Nadimuthu Pillai and T. K. Srinivasa Iyer were appointed members of the deputation to wait on the Government in this regard.

Condolence resolutions were passed on the death of Smt. Sarojini Devi and Mr. C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar.—F.C.C.

Tribune 25-4-49

"THE GANDHI NATIONAL MEMORIAL FUND"

(BY L. Y. CHANDOKE)

Without Mahatma Gandhi, India is dreadfully empty!

What a miraculous evolution—nor merely revolution—he brought about in our land, during a period of about 34 years! There is no sphere of our life in which his influence is not discernible. He was a real Bapu—to suffering humanity. He was the apostle of a new life and of the abiding spirit of Love—The love that never falters, the love that pays the price, the love that makes undaunted the final sacrifice. The mortal frame of Gandhiji is no more in our midst. But his spirit beckons to us to tread the path of Truth and Love. We have to complete whatever he left unfinished and this is the only way we can fittingly cherish his sacred memory.

The constructive work of Gandhiji must be carried on with renewed vigour and devotion. With this end in view the Working Committee of the All-India Congress stated in its resolution of February 6, 1948—"Mahatma Gandhi's imperishable teachings and achievements are enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen and of the world. Succeeding generations will look up to them and find inspiration from them. No more fitting memorial can be raised to his memory which can never fade away. Nevertheless, there is duty cast upon all his countrymen as well as others, to help in every way in the furtherance of his high ideals by practical work in the sphere of constructive activities which were so near to his heart and for which he laboured unceasingly."

Objects Of The Fund

The Working Committee, therefore, advised that a National Memorial Fund be started with the object of carrying on the constructive activities on an all-India basis. It was further suggested that the Fund may also be utilised to collect, preserve and publish his writings and teachings in the various languages and to maintain a museum where articles connected with Gandhiji could be preserved. The main objects of the Fund are:

(1) Conduct and promotion of the manifold constructive activities with which Mahatma Gandhi was associated during his life-time and any other activities in furtherance of his high ideals, including such activities as would conduce to the general welfare and uplift of poor and needy persons in India.

(2) Establishment and maintenance of organizations, ashrams, and/or institutions of any kind, including educational institutes connected with any of the aforesaid activities.

(3) Establishment and maintenance, for the benefit of the poor, of homes for women and children, hospitals and charitable dispensaries, maternity homes, child welfare centres and other institutions of similar nature such as ante-natal and post-natal clinics, convalescent homes and sanatoria.

(4) Provision of sanitary facilities and promoting of preventive and other measures affecting the health of the people, specially in rural and poverty-stricken areas of India.

(5) Measures for the prevention and cure of leprosy including the establishment of leper colonies and other allied institutions as well as research centres.

(6) Promotion and encouragement of education, particularly basic education (Nai Talim), trainnig of children and adults for citizenship and of women in domestic science and training in handicrafts, cottage industries and other useful crafts and arts amongst the population of India, specially in the rural areas.

(7) Collection, preservation and publication of Mahatma Gandhi's writings and teachings in various languages; study and propagation of his message and teachings of truth, non-violence, world peace and fellowship and maintenance of study centres and libraries for such purposes.

(8) To maintain a museum, where various relics, objects of veneration, books, articles and things connected with Mahatma Gandhi may be preserved.

(9) Preservation and protection of various places associated with Mahatma Gandhi's work and life.

(10) Training of men and women for carrying out any of the aforesaid activities.

(11) Rendering help by grant and contribution to any existing institution or institutions established hereafter which may be carrying on or which undertake to carry on in the country, more specially in the rural areas, work falling within all or any of the objects mentioned in the above sub-clauses (1) to (10).

(12) Any other activity incidental or germane to the aforesaid objects.

It was decided at a special meeting convened by the Provisional Committee of the Fund on 7th December, 1948, that a sum approximating, to 75 per cent of the total collection made from any province or state shall be set apart to be spent in that province or state, care being taken to see that the needs of the various districts therein are equitably met. As announced earlier by Dr. Rajindra Prasad, any donations earmarked and accepted for any specified purpose falling within the aforesaid objects shall be used as far as possible exclusively for such object.

Trustees

A Board of Trustees consisting of eminent persons like Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Shri Dev Das Gandhi, Sardar Patel, Pt. Pant, Dr. Sitaramayya, Maulana Azad, Shri Jagjiwan Ram, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani, Shri Mavlankar, Shri J. B. Kripalani, Shri G. D. Birla, etc. has been formed already while a Managing Committee will be constituted soon.

The Gandhi Memorial Fund will be closed on April 30, 1949. It should be a point of honour with everyone of us to contribute whatever we can and render all possible assistance to make it a memorable success.—

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The Industrial Committee of the Gandhi Memorial Fund met in Delhi and presented a cheque for Rs. 3,07,51,151 to Dr. Rajendra Prasad as their contribution to the Fund, Sardar Patel who was also present at the meeting made a powerful appeal to the industrialists to help in raising the standard of living of the masses and said that he expected them to disprove by their actions the charges that the general public levelled at them. Government hoped that they would sincerely help them in this task which brooked no delay and in which there was room for everyone to help the country. Earlier, Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai, Chairman of the Committee, had stated that the industrialists could raise the poor people's standard of living by one hundred per cent in 15 years.

The recent Indo-Pakistan agreement on pensions, border incidents, division of the contents of museums and other inter-Government matters was ratified by both the Governments. The Government of India also announced the consent they had given to the establishment in the country of a number of factories by British commercial concerns for the production of consumer and other goods. The U.P. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan recommended to the Constituent Assembly, Hindi in Devnagri script for adoption as the national language. Ten thousand kisans marched to Lucknow to protest to the Premier against the Government's new procurement scheme. The hunger-strike of the 30 refugee men and women in Delhi continues and there is no change in the R.S.S. hunger-strike situation in this province.

112

Hindu 26/4/49 H.T. 26.4.49

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FOLLOW IDEALS OF GANDHIJI

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD'S EXHORTATION

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

BANGALORE, April 24.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad addressing a public meeting at Subashtnagar (report of which appeared in these columns) referred to the prevalence of black-markets in the country and corruption in society and pointed out that in regard to the first there were three parties and two in regard to the second if one of the parties desisted from encouraging the evil then it would have a decent burial. It, therefore, amounted to this—that everyone must attach importance to his own conduct and if they all did this, then they would change the whole phase of society for the better. Dr. Prasad referred in detail to the Satyagraha carried on by Gandhiji at Champaran and the great importance he attached to truth and integrity.

Referring to controls Dr. Prasad said the introduction of controls had impaired the health of the people of England. In India controls had in their wake produced all kinds of fraud. There was nothing wrong with controls as such, but there was something wrong with the people in this country. They had therefore to improve themselves.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad then explained the purpose for which the Gandhi National Fund would be utilised. Gandhiji had achieved Swaraj for India, but Swaraj was not the only objective he had. He wanted the establishment of Ramrajya, a society which would be free from fraud and violence and his constructive programme was framed for bringing about the establishment of such a society. The money collected for the Fund would be spent on furthering this programme. He would appeal not only for money but also for workers imbued with the ideals of Gandhiji to carry on this work.

On behalf of the people of Bangalore, Mr. K. Shamarajaiengar, President of the City Congress Committee, welcomed Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

A silver tray, a sandalwood portrait of Gandhiji and several rings which were voluntarily offered to Dr. Prasad at the meeting were auctioned and they fetched about Rs. 25,000.

RAJEN BABU IN MYSORE

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

MYSORE, April 25.

Mysore gave a rousing reception to Babu Rajendra Prasad, Chairman of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund Committee this evening at the Town Hall maidan.

Mr. H. Chenniah, Chairman of the City Committee presented Dr. Rajendra Prasad with a sum of Rs. 43,676-5-3 to the Fund.

A civic address was also presented to Dr. Rajendra Prasad. On behalf of the Municipal Council, Mr. T. Venkataramaniah, President, welcomed Dr. Prasad and paid a glorious tribute to the services rendered by him in the cause of the nation.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad rising amidst cheers explained the objectives of the Gandhi Memorial Fund. He appealed to the people to contribute liberally towards the Fund and closely follow the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who arrived

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

Mysore Contributes Rs. 16 Lakhs

BANGALORE, April 24.—Dr Rajendra Prasad, President of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, today announced that Mysore had so far collected more than Rs 16,00,000 for the fund and by the end of this month the total was likely to be above Rs 20,00,000.

Purses containing the collections were presented to Dr Prasad this evening at two separate public meetings. A small silver plate in which the presentation was made was auctioned at the meeting at Subhas Nagar and it fetched Rs 1,011. A sandal wood portrait of Gandhiji, presented by a Municipal Councillor, was sold for Rs 900. A number of trinkets, contributed towards the fund, were also auctioned for large sums.

Addressing the meeting, Dr Prasad said he was very thankful that the industrialists had more than fulfilled their promise and given over Rs 5 crores for the fund.

Carrying Gandhiji's Message

Owing to ill-health, he added, he could not fulfil his desire to undertake extensive tours and contact the general public. That would have served a dual purpose—make collections and carry the message of Mahatma Gandhi to every door. "I shall be satisfied if our workers have approached every house. If this is done the purpose of the fund is served."

Dr Prasad recalled his recent visit to a village in the United Provinces where he saw the house in which once Lord Buddha stayed. It was in ruins. A few tumbled-down walls marked the place. "The sight of this," said Dr Prasad, "filled me with the thought that if we erect a brick- and-mortar memorial for Gandhiji, the same fate will overtake it. On the other hand, the spirit of the Buddha remained a potent force in the hearts of millions."

Gandhiji's Unrealized Dream

It was Mahatma Gandhi's desire, he said, to evolve a society through the principles of truth and *ahimsa* and a country where there would be no death from hunger or want. Swaraj for him was only a means towards the achievement of this ideal.

Although he won Swaraj for India, he could not realize his dreams. He left us his constructive programme and the fund was intended to help it spread. Dr Prasad said he had under-

statesman 27.4.49

GANDHI FUND TRUST MEETING IN MAY

COLLECTIONS NOT MUCH OVER RS. 10 CRORES

FROM OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE

NEW DELHI, Tuesday.—Members of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund Trust will meet in Delhi on May 10 to elect an executive committee and to brief it on its functions and responsibilities.

According to the provisional agenda, the meeting of the Trust—the second since its inception—will also elect a vice-chairman and six holding trustees and appoint a secretary and a sub-committee to draft rules and regulations.

Dr Rajendra Prasad, whose term of office as Chairman of the Trust will also be settled at the meeting, is expected to return to Delhi on May 2, two days after subscriptions to the Fund are declared closed.

It is now clear that the total of the Fund will not be much over Rs 10 crores. No formal target was ever fixed, but a sum of Rs 100 crores was expected to accrue if every member of the population donated 10 days' income, as suggested by the Chairman.

Faulty organization is said to be mainly responsible for low collections. An obvious lapse is the location of the Fund's office in a building which also houses a Government office. All visitors, including contributors, are subject to a close security check.

A Fund official today described as unfounded the rumour that a proportion of the collections will be utilized for Congress election propaganda. He drew attention to the 12-point objective of the Fund included in the deed of trusteeship executed last year.

According to this document, the Fund is to be used for promoting interests which were dear to Mahatma Gandhi. Details will be settled at a later date and their execution left to the Executive Committee.

110

India news chronicle
26-4

Plea For Using Gandhi Fund For Constructive Work

NEW DELHI, Wednesday.—The office of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, it was learnt here today, has received applications from various public organisations for allotment of amounts from the Fund for use in the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi.

These applications will be considered by an 'ad hoc' committee, appointed recently by the Chairman of the Fund, at its meeting on May 7. It is understood that the 'ad hoc' committee will, after considering the applications, forward some of them to the meeting of the trustees to be held in Delhi on May 10.

Although the Fund is to be used for promoting interests which were dear to Mahatma Gandhi, yet the details regarding its allocations are still undecided. It is gathered that these details will be settled by an executive committee of the Fund which will be set up at the meeting of the trustees on May 10.

An official of the Fund said today that he expected the total collections to reach the figure of about Rs. 12 crores. He added that the rumours that the last date (April 30) for the close of the subscriptions to the Fund would be extended were baseless.—API.

109

India Express 30.4.49.

Your Mite For Gandhi Fund: Kamaraj's Call To Madras Citizens

MADRAS, Apr. 29.

Mr. Kamaraj, President, Tamil Nad Congress Committee has issued the following appeal:

"It is proposed to present a purse on behalf of the citizens of Madras to Sjt. Rajendra Prasad for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund at a public meeting to be held at Rajaji Hall on Monday, May 2 at 9 a.m. Special efforts are being made to give as large an amount as possible.

I have requested Messrs. A. Ramaswami Naidu, Mayor of Madras, H. Sitarama Reddi, Ramnath Goenka, S. R. Ct. Annamalai Chettiar, A. Subbiah, K. Satagopan and S. Venkataraman to go round and collect amounts for this purpose from Saturday morning. As the time at our disposal is too short, it will not be possible to approach all the people. I, therefore, appeal to all the citizens of Madras to pay their mite in the following places.

(1) At the Office of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, Government House, Mount Road.

(2) At the Office of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, 8, Narasingapuram Street, Mount Road.

Persons desirous of handing over their contributions in person to Sjt. Rajendra Prasad may also do so at the public meeting on May 2. But it will be helpful if the contributions are sent earlier to the addresses given above.

"I hope that the citizens of Madras will enable us to give a good amount to the noble cause."

Hindu 30-4-49

India Express 30-4-49

108

SARVODHAYA SAMAJ

GANDHIJI'S IDEAL EXPLAINED

MADRAS, April 29.

The great responsibility cast on the members of the Sarvodaya Samajams in living up to the ideals set before them by Mahatma Gandhi, was stressed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, speaking at a meeting of the Sarvodhaya Sangham, in Vannia Teynampet this morning.

Mr. C. R. Pattabhiraman welcomed the chief guest and Dr. Prasad was presented with an address in Hindi. The address eulogised Dr. Prasad's services to the country.

Replying, Dr. Rajendra Prasad congratulated the organisers of the Sarvodaya Sangham and referred to the role which these institutions were expected to play. He said, 'You know soon after the passing away of Mahatmaji we had a conference of constructive workers at Sevagram last year. There we decided to have Samajams to be known as Sarvodaya Samajams, which everyone who had faith in Mahatmaji's teachings and who is trying to give effect to them in his own life is entitled to join. There is to be no regular membership and no regular institutional organisation. Everyone who tries to live up to the ideals which Mahatma Gandhi preached can join these samajams.'

Proceeding, Dr. Prasad referred to the need for the members of the Sarvodaya Samajams sticking to the path laid for them by Gandhiji, and added, 'You have taken a great responsibility upon yourselves. The greatest thing in Mahatmaji's teachings is, 'Practise what you say'. He never said a thing in his whole life which he did not practise himself. Beginning with the small experiments in the matter of food, clothing and treatment of disease right up to the great movements which led to the emancipation of this country, you will not find in his life one single instance in which he said one thing but did another or in which he asked other people to do what he himself was not prepared to do or did not do himself. The Sarvodaya Samajam is expected to live up to that ideal. I, therefore, suggest that you should constantly be engaged in examining yourself and turning the searchlight within, not to find out how far you are able to live up to that ideal and any deviation from which you should be prepared to correct and, if necessary, also, to confess.'

Dr. Prasad then referred to Mahatma Gandhi's wish to establish Sarvodaya Samajams not only in this country but also all over the world. 'It was a very special order that he envisaged,' Dr. Prasad said, 'in which there will be no corruption, fraud, and no exploitation and oppression, in which all will live in harmony and peace not only within the country but also as between one country and another and also one nation and another. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to liquidate poverty, eradicate illiteracy and disease from that social order. If he had lived after the attainment of swaraj for some more time he would have dedicated his great energies to the establishment of such samajams. Unfortunately, however, he was cut off just at the time when his services would have been most valuable to this great work. It is our duty, therefore, to take it up where he left it and do what we can to establish that samaj. I have been going about collecting funds for the Gandhi Memorial, not for erecting buildings or putting up statues, but for dedicating that money to the constructive programme which Mahatma Gandhi chalked out for the leaders of the Sarvodaya Samajam.'

Concluding, Dr. Prasad said: 'You have taken upon yourself this great and big task and I can only pray that God will give you strength to live up to that ideal.'

Rajen Babu Lays Foundation Of Gandhi Prayer Hall

MADRAS, Apr. 29.

The potency of prayer as the vehicle for rinsing the wrong done by the Hindu society to Harijans was emphasised by Dr. Rajendra Prasad this morning while laying the foundation stone of the Gandhi Prayer Mantapam in the premises of the Thakkar Bapa Vidyalaya Tiruvanmiyur. Mr. P. S. Kumaraswamy Raja, Premier presided.

The large and distinguished gathering present included Mr. K. Kamaraja Nadar, President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, Mr. S. Perumaswami, Minister for Rural Development; Mr. S. Ramaswamy Naidu, Mayor of Madras, Dr. Alagappa Chettiar and Mr. V. Kumaraiya.

Dr. Prasad on arrival was received by Mr. V. Sadayan Appagar, President of the Managing Board of the Vidyalaya and other trustees of the Institution. This was followed by the presentation of coconuts, betels and plantains to the distinguished guests in traditional Hindu style by a number of Hindi priests and the performing of 'Arathi' by a few girls.

Mr. Sadayan Appagar briefly traced the history of the Vidyalaya from 1933.

The Vidyalaya is a residential Institution where Harijan boys drawn from all over the Presidency are given free boarding and lodging, he observed. Recently, a certain number of non-Harijan poor boys also have been taken in. There are at present 100 boys on the rolls and the management proposes to increase the strength to 200 within two or three years.

Near the spot in the premises of the Vidyalaya wherein the ashes of Mahatma Gandhi were enshrined, a memorial prayer Hall would be put up, he said. Members belonging to all communities would be allowed to join the common prayer that would be conducted at frequent intervals. In course of time, he hoped, the prayer Hall would develop into a centre of missionary activity in favour of Harijan uplift work.

"It is only fitting," he observed, "that a scheme for a memorial to Gandhiji's name should take the form of strengthening the work of the Vidyalaya and promoting a missionary organisation for active and sustained work in the cause of Harijan uplift."

5-Lakh Scheme

The salient features of the scheme are: (1) The organising of Gandhi Harijan Seva Mission as an annexe to the Thakkar Bapa Vidyalaya. The Mission will carry on Harijan uplift work "according to Gandhian Ideology" and specially direct its attention towards improving the general standard of living of the poor.

(2) The work will be carried on in the first instance in and around the City of Madras and within a radius of about 20 miles. Gradually the work will be extended to the districts also.

(3) Missionary workers actuated with service motive and willing to dedicate themselves to this cause for five years will be appointed. There will be both stipendiary and honorary workers, and

(4) Starting of a training centre for missionary workers, in the prayer hall to be constructed in Memory of Mahatma Gandhi at an estimated cost of Rs. 15,000.

The entire scheme is estimated to cost Rs. 5 lakhs.

The scheme will be soon submitted to the General Gandhi Memorial Committee for its approval. The Committee will be requested to incorporate the scheme as a part of the Central Scheme and to grant permission to raise funds for the work. All funds that may be collected for this purpose will be placed at the disposal of the Central Committee with a request to realise them for this scheme.

A telegram wishing the function success received from Mr. Justice B. Jagannada Das was then read.

Mr. Kumaraswamy Raja said that Dr. Rajendra Prasad was the fittest person to lay the foundation stone of a Prayer Mantapam to be erected in memory of Mahatma Gandhi. After the death of the Mahatma, it had been left to veteran patriots like Rajen Babu to carry on the great and fruitful work undertaken by him (Gandhiji). As such, any work inaugurated with his blessings, was bound to be a success.

Mr. Perumaswami appealed to the public to render all help to the Vidyalaya.

New Venture Welcomed

Dr. Prasad then laid the foundation stone.

He said: "It is a matter of great pleasure for me to be present here on this happy occasion. I have visited this institution when it was housed in its old premises previously, on more than one occasion. But this is the first time that I have come to the new premises.

Dr. Prasad said that he was filled with joy to note that the Vidyalaya had been doing this ennobling Harijan uplift work all these years with remarkable success. It was but proper that the trustees of the Institution should decide to expand its activities gradually. Judging from what the Institution had achieved, he had no doubt that this new venture would also meet with equal success.

In this connection he reminded the gathering of the longing of the Mahatma to see the missionary spirit pervade the entire country particularly in respect of the work connected with his constructive programme. School after school grew under his bringing in a sense of devotion and dedicated service for all epidemics connected with Harijan uplift; for, they all knew that the Hindu society had done a great harm and wrong to the Harijans and that they had been stirring their best to see the minimum that they should never at any rate approach this work with a patronising attitude. "We are not helping anybody by doing this kind of work. We are only performing our duties by the Harijans," he observed.

A prayer hall is a necessary adjunct to this Institution, Rajen Babu said. It should be common knowledge to everybody that Mahatma Gandhi had all through his life laid emphasis on the efficacy of prayer as a potent instrument for deriving inspiration, for doing sustained and successful work for a deserving cause like Harijan uplift.

Appealing to the public to take to Harijan uplift work with a missionary zeal and a prayerful mood, Rajen Babu expressed the hope that the proposed Prayer Mantapam would soon develop into a centre of missionary spirit and activity.

Help From Gandhi Fund

Referring to the statement contained in the report of the working of the Vidyalaya —a copy of which was made available to him this morning—that they proposed to request the trustees of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund for financial assistance, Dr. Prasad said that some resources available at the disposal of the Fund would be "heartily devoted" towards furthering the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi. "And I am sure that this Institution, foundation stone of which was laid by Gandhiji, would get the support of the Fund. When the time comes, you will of course send in your application and I will certainly place the same before the trustees of the Fund for consideration."

Mr. K. P. Lakshmana Rao proposed a vote of thanks.

OBJECT OF SARVODAYA SAMAJ

"Mahatma Gandhi had as his greatest objective in life the establishment of Sarvodaya Samaj first in this country and then the world over. It was a new social order that this envisaged in which there would be no corruption, exploitation, fraud or oppression, and in which all would live in harmony and peace, not only in this country, but as between one country and another, between one nation and another, observed Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, addressing the members of the Sarvodaya Samaj, this morning at the Ramaswamy Koil Street Vannia Teynampet.

On arrival at the Samaj premises, he was received by Mr. K. Kamaraj Nadar, President T.N.C.C., and L.N. Gopalaswamy, M.L.A. accompanied Rajen Babu.

Mr. Kandappa Chettiar welcomed Dr. Prasad and Mr. P. Subbiramaniyam presented an address of welcome in Hindusthani to him.

Mr. Pattabhiraman said that though the locality was a poor one, its residents were keeping it clean. They were maintaining their Sarvodaya Samaj and were striving out the Constructive Programme of Gandhiji to the best of their ability.

Rajen Babu said he was pleased to learn they were trying to carry out the Constructive Programme. Soon after Mahatmaji's passing away, they had a conference of constructive workers at Sevagram last year and there they decided to have a Samaj to be known as Sarvodaya Samaj in which everyone who had faith in Mahatmaji's teachings and who was trying to give effect to them in his own life was entitled to join. There was to be no regular membership or constitutional organisation. Everyone interested in the work and everyone trying to live up to the ideals which Mahatmaji preached could join this Samaj.

"I am glad you have opened a samaj at that sort here," Rajen Babu said. "But I warn you that, in doing so, you have taken a very great responsibility on yourself. The greatest thing in Mahatmaji's teachings is that you should practise what you say. He never said one thing in his own life, which he did not practise himself. Beginning with small experiments in the matter of food and clothing and treatment of diseases, right up to the great movements which led to the emancipation of the country, you will not find in his life one single instance in which he said one thing but did another, or in which he asked other people to do what he himself was not prepared to do or did not do himself.

"Sarvodaya Samaj is expected to live up to that ideal. Therefore, when I say I am warning you, do not misunderstand me. It is only a suggestion that you should be constantly engaged in examining yourself and turning the search-light inward, just to find out how far you are able to live up to that ideal. And any deviation from it you should be prepared to correct and if necessary confess.

"Mahatmaji wanted to exclude poverty, eradicate illiteracy and disease from the social order. If he had lived after the attainment of Swaraj, for some more time he would have dedicated his life and his energies to the establishment of this Sarvodaya Samaj. Unfortunately, however, he was cut off from our midst, just at a time when his services could have been of great value in this great work. Now it has become your duty to do what you can in the establishment of this Samaj.

"I have been going about collecting money for the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, not for erecting buildings, nor for putting up statues—the money is too much for any of these—but for dedicating that money to the Constructive Programme of Mahatmaji, which is to be carried on by the Samaj.

"You have therefore taken upon yourself a great and big task, and I earnestly pray that God will give you strength to live up to that ideal".

Hindustan Times 1-5-49

With Gandhiji In Yervada: Sept. 5,'32 to Jan. 1 '33—I

ON THE EVE OF THE EPIC FAST OF 1932

THE readers of the *Hindustan Times* are already familiar with Mahadev Desai's Diary, published in Gujarati, the first volume of which was introduced to them in a series of six articles soon after its publication some six months ago. The second volume of the Diary has now appeared. This deals with the period September 5, 1932 to January 1, '33—a bare three months, but among the most momentous in Gandhiji's life.

It was during this period that the fast against the provision in the Communal Award granting separate electorates to the so-called Scheduled Castes was undertaken, a fast which culminated after 11 days of the greatest anxiety throughout India and the world outside in the Poona Pact by which Dr Ambedkar renounced separate electorates on behalf of his community.

An Intuitive Decision

The fast was one of those intuitive decisions in the sense that it was taken on the instant. The Communal Award was officially announced by Mr Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, on August 17, 1932. On August 19, 1932, Gandhiji had already written to Mr MacDonald telling him that the only way to resist the Communal Award was by declaring "a perpetual fast unto death." The date of the fast had been chosen. It was to begin from the noon of September 20, 1932.

But though Gandhiji's reaction to the Communal Award announcement would appear to be intuitive from the physical facts, it was not intuitive in any other sense. It was the logical outcome of the philosophy of a lifetime, compressed into a single expression of tremendous dramatic force.

Nor was Gandhiji completely surprised by the Communal Award when it came. He had always feared that it would take the course it did.

Doubts And Fears

In the first volume of Mahadev Desai's Diary, Gandhiji's preoccupations with this problem run like a watermark through a sheet of paper. There were numerous conversations with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mahadev Desai, speculating on the probable nature of the Communal Award and though the idea of a protest against it if the worst fears were realized in the form of a fast was not suggested, there was clear enough indications that Gandhiji's mind was working in that direction.

But though Gandhiji's companions in jail and a few officials knew about the fast decision, the outside world knew nothing about it till the morning of September 13, when the Gandhi-Hoare-MacDonald correspondence was released for publication. The impact of this decision, the fast itself and its aftermath which are the themes of the second volume of Mahadev Desai's Diary, is now being introduced to the larger English-reading public in a series of articles in the Sunday Magazine section of the *Hindustan Times*.

Characteristic Note

The second volume opens on a minor note, characteristic of Gandhiji's concern for the little problems of his numerous correspondents. On that day, September 5, the Diary has only a single humorous reference to the impending fast, not more than a fortnight away. It was a remark by Gandhiji. He said to Sardar Patel and Mahadev Desai: "I think the Government will release me before the 20th so as to clear themselves of all responsibility. You will remain behind." But the thread was dropped, it was considered more useful to occupy the time by reading what Ramanand Chatterjee had to say in the *Modern Review* on the Communal Award.

But the next day, September 6, the Diary was all about the fast. Before it was quite forgetting, after the prayers had been said, Sardar Patel returned to the subject. He said to Gandhiji: "Can only Ba think about the possibility of your release before the 20th? Is there anything in your mind? What do you think the Government will do?"

Gandhiji: "I think that I shall be released on the 19th or earlier. It does not look likely that I will be allowed to go on fasting within the gaol being made public. It is not as if the Government is not capable of this and then saying: 'A fast is against jail discipline.' The Government had no alternative." But I don't suppose they will consider it necessary to go that far and the British are not the people to go further than is necessary."

Sardar Patel: "What will you do then?"

Gandhiji: "The decision to begin the fast on the 20th cannot be altered."

Sardar Patel: "But if you are released, does it not mean that you will have gained time to gain your goal by other means? Surely, you will be in a position to give a longer notice to the people and the Government."

Gandhiji: "True. But that depends on how much I am allowed to do after my release. I cannot figure now how the situation will develop. I will have a hundred things to say to Hindu society, to the Harijans, to the Government, to the Mussalmans. I will have to get Hindus and Harijans together at public meetings everywhere to protest against the disabilities the Harijans suffer from. The Government stand is that their intervention in this matter was undertaken in the spirit of Christianity. I will have to say to the Government and the Christians that as Christians you cannot do this. Let us have our freedom first. Then as Christians you may do all you can to influence the Harijans. I had told the Mussalmans the same thing in England. Hindu society must realize that the Harijans are being forced into a position where they will have no option left except to embrace Christianity or Islam."

Sardar Patel: "But where are the Mussalmans left today who will listen to reason?"

Gandhiji: "That does not matter. We must keep on hoping that conscientious will come to them some day. The whole essence of satyagraha is faith in human nature, in its ability to melt the heart of the stoniest."

Mahadev Desai: "But our Christian friends may ask us how we can find fault with Government when our own faults are so much graver? Why do Hindus treat Harijans like less than men?

Gandhiji: "To convince them is my task. It should not be very difficult.... As for you who will remain behind if I am released, it is your job to make everyone in the jail know that fasting is forbidden and that peace must be kept at all costs."

Unalterable Resolve

It was thus that Gandhiji talked while the day approached when he was to begin his penance, quietly, dispassionately, almost humour, as though the fast was some abstruse problem in mathematics instead one of the most rigorous tests that any man ever undertook for his fellowmen. Nor did thoughts of the fast occupy him to the exclusion of the routine of his jail life. There were the prayers, the spinning, the answering of scores of letters of his numerous correspondents all with their own small problems and difficulties. There was reading to be done, newspapers and more serious things.

That routine went on unchanged while the world outside felt the first horrifying impact of the fast decision on September 13. "That situation in the country during the following week, from the 13th to the 20th," says Pyarelal in his book, *The Epic Fast*, "might be compared to a huge building on fire. There was a never-to-be-forgotten combination of fervent prayer, panic, reckless courage and superhuman effort throughout the length and breadth of India. The announcement of Gandhiji's decision to fast unto death served as a signal for a country-wide demand for a revision of the Communal Award on the one hand and a complete removal of all religious and social disabilities of the "untouchables" on the other. By the vast bulk of Depressed Class masses Gandhiji's resolve was interpreted as a supreme gesture to ratify by his death his faith in a cause that he held dearer than his life. Before this stupendous self-sacrifice all differences were forgotten for the time being and the one consideration that reigned supreme in everybody's mind was that Gandhiji's life must be saved at all cost."

(To be continued)

Mahadev Desai's Diary: Volume II: Edited by Narhari Parikh; Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad; Rs 5-8.

THREE BRAVE MEN OF NOAKHALI

By ELA SEN

THE problem of rehabilitation extends throughout the breadth of India, but there is one fundamental difference between the mental difference between the refugees from the Punjab and Sind and those from Eastern Pakistan. There was a comparatively wealthy middle-class in what is now Western Pakistan—in fact the gap between the rich and poor found in most parts of India was narrower in the North-West and there was a general solvency. Therefore, when these people lost their assets what was salvaged was infinitesimal in their eyes but something worth having in the eyes of their counterparts in the East.

The middle-classes in Bengal are comparatively poor—actually individual wealth is rare—and, therefore, the majority of the refugees from East Bengal largely drawn from that section of the population) arrived destitute when they found sanctuary in Calcutta and elsewhere. The fact that many others stayed on in East Bengal was largely due to their financial instability and the resultant inability to emigrate. They chose to hang on to what remained of their homes. Therefore, even 18 months after partition the minority question of Eastern Pakistan remains the most acute in this sub-continent.

The Noakhali Mission

Thus it was with considerable interest that the other day I met three men who, among a handful of others, have spent much time and labour in trying to infuse courage and hope into the stricken people of Noakhali, where the minority question has always been most acute. It has been a more difficult task than blood transfusion, for all had shattered about them. But their own personal courage has stood so high that bit by bit men and women have crawled out of their hiding places and have clustered about them. Assassin and goonda, too, have come with a change of heart and a confessional.

These three men are Pearelyal, Charu Bhusan Chowdhury and Jiwan Singh—each a different personality and each without an iota of fear, united with the hope of communal amity, belief in non-violence, and the love that casteth out fear. They have lived and worked for the people of Noakhali with enmity and belligerence as their daily companions. They have been passing their days among people whose moral destitution is unsurpassed, and who are approaching a state of serfdom.

The famous *baris* or family homes have gone into desolation; their spacious courtyards and inner quarters are mostly deserted or the large joint family has shrunk into smaller units who cling to the heritage of their forefathers. In one well-known *bari* over 20 of the male members having been killed, there are only women left. There Gandhiji established one of his camps which until lately was being run by these widowed women. Gang violence gave them not only physical protection but helped them to attain a moral courage that amounted to heroism amidst known enemies. Almost every family possessed a blood-spattered wall of horrible memories, yet those that had escaped from these walls for they had no other refuge. They lived in fear and woe until Gandhi came, worked a cure to infuse courage into them. But so far this is borrowed, and only when it becomes a part of them will they be truly reclaimed and obtain their rights as citizens.

The Three Heroes

Pearelyal went with Gandhiji and walked in his footsteps through the jungle paths of East Bengal. He believed that the lion and the lamb could be made to lie together. With firm conviction of the power of the changed ways of erstwhile enemies on contact with the Gandhi Camps. Calm and peaceful, he did not utter a bitter word against those who would harm him, not only in life but in reputation. He walks in the ways of Gandhiji, with faith that sincerity must win.

Charu Babu, the quiet scholarly Bengali, whom I met after a very long time, is not a figure to intimidate anybody. He is slender, gentle and quiescent in his ways but he walks the dangerous path of Noakhali with a courage that has infused life into the stricken inhabitants. The hand of enmity is raised against him, but Charu Babu blinks benignly through his spectacles at those that would persecute him in the firm belief that the ideals Gandhiji had set will be realized, that not only him somebody else would be there to do it.

Silhouetted in sharp contrast against them both is the gigantic figure of Colonel Jiwan Singh, who is, I believe, the only Sikh in Eastern Bengal, but who seems completely unaware of the enmity his activities in the Noakhali jungles have aroused, or the fact that he is a Sikh is anathema itself. With his gigantic proportions, white beard and eyes that twinkle with mirth, he is a lion of a man. He looks a leader, and indeed such he was in the I.N.A. in Burma. But now this lion is a lamb, who has found his salvation in the Gandhian way. Completely unafraid, he has lived and worked in Eastern Pakistan and has resisted all efforts to ruin his reputation. He even stood trial for ridiculous framed cases; in fact insisted in facing his

Western Times 1-5-47

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Through the jungle paths of Noakhali, through the streets of the town, which at one time ran red with the blood of innocents, Jiwan Singh strides about carelessly and never looks over his shoulder, for he does not anticipate a hidden assassin. He laughs if anybody suggests any violence. His non-violence, he believes, can overcome all evil, and, therefore, there is no need of any other protection. He wears it as his amulet, and his adversaries have to take recourse to legal chicanery to try and bring him down.

Against The Tide

These three men and others like them are trying to stem the tide of displaced persons by building up morale and courage, but one fears that these have in Eastern Bengal received such a blow that without them hope of ultimate recovery is small. The Gandhi Camps must continue for some years longer. So anxious are they that this should be possible that not by word or letter would they injure any chances of good relationship with the Pakistan authorities. Their belief in the good of all humanity is such that they feel that a real talk between parties would clear up all differences. Between the Bengali Hindu and the Bengali Muslim, there is little real enmity that is not fomented for political reasons.

In a country dedicated to the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi, the beliefs and and works of such men—a handful though they be—point the Gandhian path, a path that is full of thorns and mazes but with cool, green patches, if only one can find them. Life is being built up in India, on what plan one does not know, but life as Gandhiji believed is being built up out of the wreckage in Noakhali. Out of millions a handful follow the light, but handsful grow into multitudes—that is the way to the solution of refugee problems.

106

Indirect Phone S J
1-5-49

Dr. R. Prasad's tour in the South has produced a new outline of Hindus' duty to Harijans and the need to carry on Gandhiji's mission. The sudden dismissal of an Allahabad judge has been attended with a detailed explanation. What is meant by "good behaviour" in connection with judicial office received ample elucidation in the record of what was done or omitted by one Judge. The Federal Court acted in this case since it was not the colleagues on the Allahabad Bench but the Government that had to act in order to save the administration of justice from disrepute. Instead of a resolution by the legislature, the Federal Court's opinion was sought and accepted. The result is certainly a vindication of the theory that India follows the British tradition in exalting justice and punishing defaulters. The list of one judge's errors of judgement only suggests that their are other offences besides corruption. And there is no question as to communal or political prejudice in this case which establishes the fact that if the Executive does not interfere with justice it is not remiss in dealing with open abuses.

GODSE TAKEN TO SIMLA

AMBALA, Apr. 30

Escorted by a strong police, Nathuram V. Godse convicted of Mahatma Gandhi's murder, was removed to Simla this morning in a prison van. He will appear in person on May 2 before the Full Bench of the East Punjab High Court to argue his appeal.

Narayan D. Apte, and four other convicts in the Gandhi Murder Case, who have also been lodged in Ambala central jail, will not be taken to Simla during the hearing of their appeals.

A Simla message adds: The drawing room of the old Viceregal Lodge—in which the East Punjab High Court is housed since the partition of the Punjab—has been converted into a court room for the hearing of the appeals on May 2 of Nathuram Godse and six other accused in the Gandhi Murder Case.

During the hearings of the appeal the Court Room will be strongly guarded by armed police.

Entry to the court room will be regulated by permits and not more than 50 visitors will be allowed daily.

Mr. C. K. Daphtary, Chief Prosecuting Counsel, has arrived in Simla.—A.P.I.

105

Hindu 5-5-49

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

TIRUCHI, May 3.

Mr. L. N. Gopalaswami, M.L.A., and Convener, Gandhi National Memorial Fund, Madras, has issued the following statement to the Press:

"It is very unfortunate that Dr. Rajendra Prasad had to cancel his tour because of his sudden illness. He has definitely stated that the Fund should be closed and the amounts remitted immediately. I, therefore, request all the District Committees and others, both official and non-official, making collections to the Memorial Fund, to close their accounts immediately and send their accounts to the Madras Office on or before May 10, 1949.

"Full details regarding the amounts collected and remittances made into the banks should also be furnished along with the accounts to enable us to verify without books. Banks have been instructed not to receive any fresh collections. But it is hoped that they will have no objection to transmit the amounts already collected by various agents and collectors. However, should any difficulty be experienced, they will please let me know".

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104

Original Writings Of Gandhiji

Transfer To National Archives Suggested

The proceedings of the 24th session of the Indian Historical Records Commission, just published, is a publication of considerable value to the students of Indian history, which gives in detail the findings of the Commission at its annual session held at Jaipur in February 1948 and reports of the vrious activities of the Commission during the year.

It is the first report of free India's newly-constituted Commission and a change in the Commission's outlook is reflected in a number of resolutions that were passed by it on problems of national interest. A resolution recommending the transfer to the National Archives of India of all the original writings of Mahatma Gandhi for better preservation was passed by the Research and Publication Committee of the Commission.

Another resolution for the preparation of a history of the Indian national struggle was also passed by the Commission for which a Government grant of Rs 25,000 was recommended.

The Commission recorded its opinion on several problems of archival and historical interest including the development scheme of the National Archives on the basis of the report on the "Post-War Reorganization of Archives Offices in India" drawn up by the Commission earlier; introduction of suitable legislation of preventing export of historical documents outside India; transfer of administrative control of pre-1902 records of the late Residencies to the National Archives bringing back of all the books, manuscripts, etc., relating to India from the India Office.

The Commission also passed a resolution accepting the scheme of Dr Solon J. Buck for the establishment of a permanent International Archives Organization under the auspices of U.N.E.S.C.O.

The proceedings also contain research papers on diverse topics of Indian history, the reports of the business meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Research and Publication Committee as well as the catalogue of historical records exhibition organized at Jaipur in connection with the annual session. Details of the five-year publication programme of the National Archives and the progress made under its various schemes, have also been reviewed in the proceedings.

The important work of salvaging manuscript records in private custody, on which the Commission had been devoting much of its time and energy for some time past, has made considerable progress, as would appear from the reports of the various Regional Records Survey Committees in the provinces and States. It is noteworthy that the Government of India realizing the importance of the subject had raised their financial aid towards the Survey Committees from Rs 6,500 in the previous year to Rs 15,000 for the year 1947-48.

The publication contains 32 short articles based on unpublished sources and covering a wide field ranging from the Imperial Mughals to the concluding years of the East India Company.

India Express 10.5.49

Gandhi Centres In Rural Areas

FUND TRUSTEES TO DISCUSS PROPOSAL

NEW DELHI, May 9.

The trustees of the Gandhi Memorial Fund, who are meeting tomorrow will discuss a proposal to construct "Gandhi Ghars" (Gandhi centres) in rural areas to carry out uplift work in villages in accordance with the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi, it is learnt.

This proposal was initiated on Saturday last by Pandit Nehru at the meeting of the 'ad hoc' committee of the fund, who set up a committee of eight members to work out a detailed scheme for the construction of these centres and for training and recruitment of workers.

Mr. Brijlal Nehru, Financial Adviser to the fund, is undertaking a tour of the country to study the working of the fund officers in different provinces.—A.P.I

Hindu 10.5.49

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

PLAN TO OPEN RURAL WELFARE CENTRES

NEW DELHI, May 9.

The trustees of the Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Fund, who are meeting here to-morrow, will discuss a proposal to construct "Gandhi Ghars" (Gandhi centres) in rural areas to carry out ameliorative work in villages in accordance with the Constructive Programme of Mahatma Gandhi, it is learnt.

This proposal was initiated on Saturday last by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a meeting of the *ad hoc* Committee of the Fund, which set up a committee of eight members to work out a detailed scheme for the construction of these centres and for training and recruitment of workers.

Mr. Brijlal Nehru, Financial Adviser to the Fund, is undertaking a tour of the country to study the working of the Fund officers in different Provinces.—API.

102

Hindustan Times 15-5-49.

GANDHI MEMORIAL AT RAJGHAT

GOOD PROGRESS MADE IN PRELIMINARY WORK

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

Preliminary work for a suitable memorial at the "Samadhi" of Mahatma Gandhi at Rajghat has been in progress for the last two months. The work is being conducted under the direction of the Central Public Works Department and engineers of the Government of India.

Nearly 500 labourers are working daily, and lorry-loads of earth to raise the low level of the land to three terraces of nine feet, six feet, and three feet in height are being brought from the Ramlila Grounds.

The 'Samadhi," with a 100 square feet land around it, has now been raised by six feet. The old structure on which Gandhiji's remains were cremated, lies now six feet below and over it a new cemented structure, similar to the old one, has been erected. The "Samadhi" will be raised by another three feet in the next few weeks.

Two bunds about 800 feet long and nine feet wide are being erected on the east and north of the "Samadhi" to guard against the flow of water from the Jumna to the "Samadhi" during the rainy season.

It is hoped the work will be completed by the end of next month.

Gandhi Museum Shortly

A permanent museum displaying Mahatma Gandhi's relics and works connected with him will be established in India shortly, it is learnt in New Delhi.

The Board of Trustees of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund, which discussed the scheme at its meeting here on Tuesday, has authorized the Executive Committee of the Trust to recommend a suitable site for the location of the museum.

Kaka Kalelkar, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, it is further learnt, has been deputed by the Board to collect books, writings and other literature by or about Mahatma Gandhi from India and abroad for the museum. He has also been asked to initiate steps for keeping intact places closely connected with Gandhiji's life.—A.P.I.

From This week's

HARIJAN

THE GANDHI PEACE MISSION IN NOAKHALI

By PYARELAL

This article was published in the issue of Sunday, May 15, of "Harijan," which also contains "Food Shortage and Palms," by Gajanan Naik, discussing the potentiality of sugar-yielding palm trees in connection with India's food shortage; and an article on "City States" by K. G. Mashruwala.

WHEN Gandhiji went to Noakhali in 1946 on his "Do or Die" mission, the minority community there was in a state of panic and was anxious to go out. With a view to check their exodus and to encourage their rehabilitation in their original homes, Gandhiji took a pledge that he would not leave Noakhali till he had made Muslims and Hindus regard each other and live together in friendship and love as blood-brothers. Even if all the members of the minority community left under fear, he declared, he alone would stay there to demonstrate how a single individual, with a living faith in God, could stay on there with self-respect and in exercise of full religious freedom. His presence had a very soothing and stabilizing effect upon the situation.

But before his work could be finished he had to leave for Bihar to do for the Muslim minority there what he had been trying to do for the Hindu minority in Noakhali. From Bihar he went to Delhi. Before leaving Noakhali he publicly declared that if there was recrudescence of rioting in Noakhali, he might fast himself to death and put upon the members of the Gandhi Peace Mission, which he had set up in Noakhali, the burden of implementing his pledge in his absence. He nominated Shri Satishchandra Das Gupta, who is an East Bengal man and an out and out believer in *ahimsa* and was in charge of the Gandhi Camps that had been set up in Noakhali, with headquarters at Kazirkhil, to represent him in dealing with the Government.

Gandhiji was to have returned to Noakhali in three weeks. But God had willed otherwise. From Delhi he wrote saying that it seemed that he would have to do or die in Delhi which meant, he added, that those whom he had left behind in Noakhali would have to do or die likewise at their respective posts of duty. His crowning sacrifice at the altar of inter-communal and inter-Dominion harmony on the 30th of January 1948 set the final seal to that sacred injunction.

The Gandhi Camp has been trying to discharge that sacred trust to the best of its capacity mainly through constructive activity in the service of both the communities. The Camp has 22 centres with about 35 workers. All of them except half a dozen or so are from East Bengal. All workers are pledged to non-violence in thought, word and deed, and have to be believers in Hindu-Muslim unity, total abolition of untouchability from Hinduism and equal self-less service of all without distinction. Their finances are derived from the fund amounting to nearly four lakhs and a half that had come to Gandhiji through voluntary contributions in aid of his mission in Noakhali. After Gandhiji's death, voluntary donations in cash, a little over fifty thousand, and some landed property were also received.

Membership of the Camp is open to all without distinction of caste, creed or colour. It has had Muslim members and associates too and their number was growing till they were forced to withdraw as a result of threats, penalties and social pressure brought to bear by a certain reactionary section hostile to the Camp and its activities. The Camp shuns secrecy as being incompatible with its basic creed of non-violence. Its office records and account books are open to inspection. It stands for the closest co-operation and collaboration with the Government at whose disposal it has offered to place its services. Two of the members, Shri Satishchandra Das Gupta and Charu Chowdhary, have been taken on the committees for the development of cottage industries and on the provincial and district minorities' boards set up by the Government.

Chief among the activities organized by the Camp are dissemination of training in spinning, weaving and related processes, to solve the problem of cloth shortage. Up to date, through all its centres, it has taught the art of carding, spinning and weaving to about 2,000 men and women. Most of them have produced at least a pair of *dhotis* or *sarees* for their use under the supervision of the Camp. It has set up at Kazirkhil an institution for research and manufacture of spinning and carding implements out of cheap local material and for designing new and improved types of the same. It launched a pioneer effort in basic education which was fast gaining popularity and held out great promise when attendance began to dwindle as a result of propaganda, social pressure and intimidation by some local vested interests. It organized with striking success a joint effort by Hindus and Muslims, mainly on a voluntary basis, for the construction and repair of roads and *shankos*, for the cleaning of tanks and *khals* of water hyacinth and for growing vegetables and other foodstuffs through free distribution of seed. It set up free milk canteens with the help of the Red Cross Societies at Kazirkhil, Bhatialpur, Mogarpara, Karpar and Gopalnag to provide milk powder to children, sick persons and expectant and nursing mothers. Dispensaries were also started early at Kazirkhil, Bhatialpur and Changergaon to provide medical relief to the poor of both the communities. It has organized a co-operative society of weavers with a total membership of over 2,000. During hard times it helped the poor by organizing paddy husking, cocoanut oil production and manufacture of *shatty* powder and spinning and weaving at subsidized rates. It works too for the social and moral uplift of the minority community, laying special emphasis on the eradication of untouchability in all shape and form from among the Hindus and for inculcation of non-violent courage among them by personal example and organizing community prayer and so on.

Initially its personnel consisted of workers who came with Gandhiji and Satish Babu to Noakhali or joined later with the permission and approval of the Bengal Government. After the partition of India its character and composition have remained the same. There are men and women, from both India and Pakistan, working in the Camp. It may be mentioned that workers of Gandhiji's Peace Mission, of which the Noakhali Peace Mission is organically a part, are working in India too. Thus by its composition, history and the nature of its activities and inasmuch as the exodus of the minority community, which it is pledged to check, has important inter-Dominion repercussions, the Camp partakes an inter-Dominion character.

The Camp eschews politics. It believes in inter-Dominion friendship and communal harmony. It tells the members of the minority in Pakistan that they must be loyal to Pakistan State which is as much theirs as the majority community's. It further tells them that if they want equal rights with the rest, they must accept and discharge reciprocal duties and obligations towards the State, for every right accrues from a reciprocal duty well performed.

This does not mean that they must submit to or be parties to the wrong-doing of the State, its officials or local vested interests in any way. But as citizens of Pakistan they must look to Pakistan for the redress of their grievances and not to interference of any agency outside or the Indian Dominion. As citizens of Pakistan they have every right to quarrel with the Government if it does anything wrong. But their quarrel will necessarily be of the nature of a "domestic quarrel."

Nor need they feel pessimistic about their future in the Pakistan State owing to their numerical inferiority. History provides many brilliant instances of a talented minority becoming the vanguard of progress in the State and being valued as such, *e.g.*, Scotsmen in the British polity and nearer at hand, the Parsi community in India. If they distinguish themselves by their industry, intelligence and resourcefulness and by the qualities of truthfulness, honesty and spirit of selfless service, they will make themselves an asset to the State so that the State will woo them for its and their own sake, instead of their having to woo the State. Their future, therefore, to a very considerable extent, rests with themselves.

The Camp looks to no protection except what its non-violence, selfless service rendered and capacity for innocent suffering may give. It has only one ambition, one object, viz., to implement Gandhiji's pledge and work for the establishment of communal and inter-Dominion friendship and peace according to its light and the light vouchsafed by Gandhiji with goodwill towards all and enmity towards none, till all suspicion and opposition are disarmed and its *bona fides* are set above doubt or perish in the attempt, in a manner worthy of a Satyagrahi body. There can be no turning away from or relinquishment of the sacred duty that has been laid upon it.

100

Hindustan Times 25-5-49

From This week's

HARIJAN

THE HARIJANS OF ROHTAK DISTRICT

By RAMESHWARI NEHRU

IN the last week of March, 45 Harijans came all the way from Rohtak to Rajghat and undertook a fast for the removal of some of the grievances from which members of their community in Rohtak district were suffering. During the seven days that they kept the fast, I visited them three times to acquaint myself with their problems. On March 29, they broke the fast on certain assurances given by Shri A. V. Thakkar, myself and others on behalf of Sardar Patel to take up their cause and to do whatever was possible to help them.

During the course of the last few months, I have toured East Punjab twice and know that most of the village Harijans of those areas are victims of all that these people were suffering from. I enumerate below some of the grievances for the redress of which the fast was undertaken:

1. Social boycott of the Harijans by zamindar Jats.

2. Organized violent attacks by the said Jats, who came in a party in three villages and beat the Harijans to the extent of necessitating the removal of many of them to hospital for treatment. Since then one man is reported to have died.

3. Ejectment of the Harijans from their houses by the unauthorized occupation of common lands by the Jats.

4. Prejudice against them shown by the non-election of the Harijans to the *panchayats* with just a very few exceptions, in spite of the fact that they form a considerable part of the population.

We all know what a terrible weapon of torture social boycott can be, which in this case also includes economic boycott. It is even worse than the weapons of violence. We are told that the poor Harijan victims of this boycott could not even purchase the necessities of life like food, kerosene, cloth and salt from any of the village shops. They either had to go to long distances to provide for their needs or had to go without them. Any *bania* who defied this boycott "order" of the *panchayats* had to pay Rs 50 as fine.

The Harijans were not allowed to work in the fields and had to forgo the scanty wages on which they were living. Non-compliance of this "order" was also subject to a fine of Rs 25 by the village *panchayat*.

Their cattle were prohibited from entering the common grazing lands, as a result of which most of the *chamars* had either to dispose of their cattle at low prices or had to send them to their relatives in distant villages.

Harijan tenants were not even allowed to reap their harvests.

Some of the perpetrators of the attacks were arrested by the police. The fear of the Harijans, based on previous experience, was that due punishment would not be meted out to the culprits. They said it openly that they did not expect justice from the District Courts. According to them the police also showed great partiality. The result of these three organized attacks was that the whole Harijan population of the Rohtak district was in a state of panic and felt that their lives, property and women were not safe.

In certain villages the lands which were in the occupation of the Harijans for generations were taken possession of by the zamindars, and even their houses and house yards were not spared, as a result of which a number of Harijans had become shelterless.

Their sufferings touched me deeply, and I approached Shri A. V. Thakkar and some others to take up their cause and get them relief. But I knew that the Harijans must have done something as a reprisal for which these cruel measures were taken by the Jats. As expected, I found that the *chamars* of this area had resolved not to remove the dead cattle and not to work unless adequate market wages were given to them. All the misery heaped on these poor people was in the shape of reprisals against these two measures. I expressed sympathy with their sufferings and told them that they were free men and no one could force them to do anything, but refusal on their part to handle dead cattle was a wrong decision. I gave them the instance of Shri Dastane, who, though *brahmana* by birth, took up the work of carcass removal to set an example. I explained to them how much wealth each carcass meant, the proper handling of which would bring them ample money in return. By refusing to handle carcasses, they were damaging their own interests. In this age of scarcity of employment and occupation they might find its replacement by another gainful occupation difficult. At that time they were adamant in their determination but later on I was told that they agreed to follow this occupation of carcass removal only if some caste Hindus joined them in this work.

After the fast was broken Shri A. V. Thakkar appointed a committee of three persons, namely, Shri Viyog Hari of Harijan Udyogshala, Shri Brijkrishan Chandiwala and Shri Krishna Nair of Karol Bagh to tour the district, investigate and report. The Committee toured the district and submitted its report, corroborating all that the Harijans had said.

We sought Sardar Patel's intervention. Dr Gopichand Bhargava, the then Premier, and some of the other officers were approached, and they all assured us that they would look into the affair and would do everything to redress the wrongs done to the Harijans. The report has been referred to the East Punjab Government which, in the meantime, has changed its composition. This question will come before the new Cabinet whose members have taken an oath to serve the people and to do justice by them. I appeal to them to examine this case minutely and to do their duty by these victims of orthodoxy and selfishness. The Harijan problem in the villages of East Punjab is getting more and more acute every day, and unless the new Cabinet makes a Herculean effort to cleanse the Augean stables, it will be impossible to restore the province to normality and peace. It is a matter of great regret that at a time when every individual in the country should be feeling the fresh air of freedom, such repression is resorted to.

This article is from the issue of the "Harijan" of Sunday, May 22, which includes "Democracy and Good Government" by K. G. Mashruwala, who also continues his views on City States.

India Express 28.5

GANDHI FUND TOTALS OVER EIGHT CRORES

NEW DELHI, May 27.

The total collection to the Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Fund upto the end of April 1949 amounted to Rs. 8,07,99,359-7-10 including Rs. 4,43,74,560-5-6 donated by the industrial concerns according to figures officially released here today.

Bombay has contributed the largest amount with Rs. 2,24,46,100-9-3.

The following is the full text of the statement:—

	Rs	A.	P.
Central Offic-	12,93,100	1	1
PROVINCES;			
Ajmer	1,05,926	1	6
Andhra	4,85,073	3	8
Assam	11,89,816	2	0
Bengal (West)	1,37,38,025	0	0
Berar	2,48,724	7	0
Bihar	38,05,695	0	9
Bombay	2,24,46,100	9	3
Delhi	16,53,790	2	9
Gujrat	7,77,426	6	7
Karnataka	3,61,911	12	8
Kerala	3,29,211	1	11
Mahakoshal	11,62,185	7	8
Maharashtra	29,18,189	10	10
Nagpur	14,16,326	10	6
Punjab (East)	56,81,570	0	1
Tamilnad	42,35,145	13	5
United Provinces	86,63,090	15	5
Utkal (Orissa)	9,22,294	5	0
STATES;			
Baroda	10,80,808	11	1
Banaras	28,055	0	0
Bhopal	2,344	7	3
Bhor	20,545	0	0
Bikaner	2,05,865	10	0
Bilaspur	51	0	0
Chattrapur	5,125	0	0
Cochin	2,62,820	4	11
Cooch Bihar	5,082	0	0
Himachal Pradesh	69,131	11	0
Hyderabad	8,72,423	8	8
Jaipur	4,12,444	11	9
Jaisalmer	21,000	0	0
Jodhpur	3,45,162	4	8
Kashmir	12,900	14	0
Kolhapur	41,334	8	0
Rihul	2,569	0	0
Malwa Union	20,97,552	5	2
Matsya Union	20,678	0	6
Mayurbhanj	2,06,977	23	0
Miraj (senior)	6,425	0	0
Miraj (junior)	3,006	0	0
Mysore	2,63,092	5	2
Palanpur	26,046	0	0
Phalton	68,197	12	0
Pinilikan Union	4,37,815	10	0
Rajasthan Union	2,61,512	1	0
Saurashtra Union	7,13,682	12	0
Sangli	39,503	0	0
Sirohi	31,000	0	0
Sikkim	2,500	0	0
Tehri Garhwal	53,000	0	0
Travancore	5,34,315	13	4
Tripura	2,937	15	6
Vindya Pradesh	211,229	0	0
Allocated Items	13,74,006	10	11
Miscellaneous interest receipts	2,24,397	7	3
TOTAL	8,07,99,359	7	10

98

Hindustan Standard 29.5

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

THE Mahatma Gandhi National Memorial Fund was closed for collection at the end of April last. The authoritative report which has just been published shows that the total collection amounts to a little over eight crores. The amount falls lamentably short of the expectation of the sponsors of the Fund. The Congress Working Committee which took the initiative in this matter suggested that each individual should give at least ten days' income to the Fund. Taking the average income of an Indian at annas five per day the collection should have exceeded one hundred crores. It is obvious that many who could have paid did not pay. One reason frequently mentioned by the President of the Fund was that the people were not approached by the workers. But other factors also must have been there. Those who will administer the Fund will do well to recognise what we think is a fact that a section of the people in the country have developed a sort of cynicism about funds raised by public subscriptions on account of what they have seen or heard about the use subsequently made of the money enthusiastically contributed by the rich and the poor alike with the purest of motives. Mahatma Gandhi, the one without a second, had alone enjoyed the confidence of the public that not a pie which fell into his hands would be put to a wrong use. And, it is well-known, that no work which he undertook to perform, ever suffered for want of funds.

The trustees of the Gandhi Memorial Fund should therefore exercise the utmost circumspection in the planning of the expenditure of the Fund and thereafter at every stage of its execution. Even knowing that Dr. Rajendra Prasad is at present at the helm of the organisation and is likely to continue there, we would not only urge the most scrupulous observance of economy and avoidance of extravagance but would also sound a note of warning even now against the likely but avoidable danger of the Fund being diverted by subtle and surreptitious means to the service of any political group competing for power in the State. Now, we think, is the time to say so. The plan has yet to be prepared. The Congress Working Committee in the resolution it had adopted in February, 1948, had visualised only the outlines of the work to be performed with the Memorial Fund. Very rightly the Committee had therein observed that no more fitting memorial could be raised to his memory than the imperishable teachings and achievements of Gandhiji which are enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen and of the world but that nevertheless "there is a duty cast upon all his countrymen as well as others to help in every way in the furtherance of his high ideals by practical work in the sphere of constructive activities which were so near to his heart and for which he laboured unceasingly." Erection of any structure out of any part of the Fund seems to have been initially ruled out by the Committee and we were glad to note the other day a statement to this effect made by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. The Fund should not be frittered away for erecting statue or monument or for the construction of even a single building which may not be absolutely necessary for the prosecution of the unostentatious but useful work in furtherance of the high ideals of Gandhiji.

The Working Committee had suggested the use of the Fund firstly, for furthering "the manifold constructive activities in which Gandhiji was interested" and, secondly, to "collect, preserve and publish his writings and teachings in various languages." The first objective appeals to us, but about the second we feel called upon to sound a note of warning. Literary work is easier and more pleasant than the kind of constructive work which had been dear to Gandhiji's heart. The danger therefore is that this literary work which will inevitably include propaganda, may overshadow the less spectacular but more important work of translating Gandhiji's ideas into the reality of the Indian life. Against that danger the trustees of the Fund should take adequate precaution. Mahatma Gandhi is nothing like Buddha had been after his demise or Christ after crucifixion. Circumstances have changed and the world has shrunken considerably ever since Swami Vivekananda had to cross the seas to preach the message of the Vedanta. Mahatma Gandhi had been a world figure even before his death and has become greater since. Publishers in every advanced country are quite eager to publish in their respective languages the works of Gandhiji as a sound business proposition. The Gandhi National Memorial Fund Committee will do well therefore to concentrate on the Gandhian constructive work in India. Recent indications, unfortunately, have been ominous. Khaddar now-a-days is seldom discussed at the meetings of the Congress. The early enthusiasm for Basic Education seems to have been dying out. Free India is getting "modernised" at a pace that might have alarmed Gandhiji had he been alive today. The trustees of the Fund should take note of this trend in drawing up the programme for perpetuating the memory of Gandhiji. If India becomes a poor copy of Britain or even Soviet Russia neither the proposed museum nor the *de luxe* editions of all his works in all languages will keep Gandhiji's memory alive in the way he would himself have liked.

97

B. Chronicle 4-6.

Gandhi Fund Grants

NEW DELHI, June 3 (API): The Chairman of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund has made a grant of Rs. 1,53,077 from the Fund to five organisations for carrying out social uplift work in accordance with the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi.

The grants have been made as follows: Hindustani Talimi Sangh—Rs. 50,000, Bhartiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh—Rs. 12,500, Vanvasi Seva Mandal (C.P.) for welfare work among Gondas and other tribes —Rs. 15,000, advance to Sarvodaya Diwas Samiti of Delhi for Gandhi Mandap at Rajghat —Rs. 40,000 and All India Harijan Sevak Sang Rs. 35,577.

India Express 14-6-49

GRANTS FROM GANDHI FUND FOR SOCIAL UPLIFT WORK

NEW DELHI, June 3.

THE Chairman of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund has made a grant of Rs. 1,53,077 from the Fund to five organisations for carrying out social uplift work in accordance with the constructive programme of Mahatma Gandhi.

The amount has been given out of a Discretionary Fund of Rs. five lakhs which the Chairman is empowered to give at his discretion to organisations for furthering the objects of the Fund.

The grants have been made as follows: Hindustani Talimi Sangh—Rs. 50,000; Bhartiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh—Rs. 12,500; Vanvasi Seva Mandal (C.P.) for welfare work among Gonds and other tribes—Rs. 15,000; advance to Sarvodaya Diwas Samiti of Delhi for Gandhi Mandap at Rajghat Rs. 40,000 and All-India Harijan Sevak Sangh—Rs. 35,577.

A portion of the Fund, it is learnt, will be granted to existing organisations formed by Mahatma Gandhi. The Chairman has asked these organisations to draw up a ten-year plan for speeding up their constructive work.

The Fund has received a number of requests from various organisations in the country for grants of money and these requests are expected to be considered at a meeting of the Fund towards the end of July.

GANDHI PEACE FOUNDATION

NEW DELHI, June 3.

The Gandhi Memorial Fund has set up a committee to explore the possibilities of establishing a Gandhi Peace Foundation out of the fund. Mr. Kaka Kalelkar is the chairman of the committee.

The foundation, if set up, will work for the promotion of peace and goodwill in India and the world it is learnt.

The committee is expected to submit a preliminary report on its work to the meeting of the Executive Committee proposed to be held towards the end of July.—A. P. I.

VUMMIDIAR
DIAMONDS & JEWELLERY
MADRAS

Reg. No. 4181 FOUR ANNAS

Free India

Editor : E. R. GOVINDAN

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DIAMONDS JEWELLERY
VUMMIDIAR
MADRAS

BRITISH TRIBUTES TO GANDHIJI

My wife and I were walking through the village when someone rushed out towards us with the news that she had just heard on the wireless that "the greatest man on earth has just been assassinated." Why is it that the name which sprang to our minds was Gandhi? Only a short while back his son, Devadas, a distinguished Indian editor, had spent a day with us; we had Bernard Shaw to lunch and there was much laughter and banter, writes Mr. S. Winsten in "John O' London's Weekly".

Mr. Shaw had said: "Your father is only a babe! You tell me he is not yet eighty. If he goes on fasting he will live, like myself, to a hundred and fifty. Silly people always regard the really healthy things as a penance."

We were all life vegetarians, and we thoroughly enjoyed the meal set before us and certainly did not feel that we were abstaining from anything; and judging by the laughter there was no suggestion of penance G.B.S., of course, had to know everything about our friend:

"Did Gandhi neglect his children?"

Devadas, a picture of health and vigour, certainly did not look neglected.

All Vegetarians

"My father thought of everything. He was a most practical man. He was idealist enough to think of diet, discipline and drains."

"A Shavian, in fact," G.B.S. declared modestly.

"He had your sense of fun, but he did his own thinking in his own way, and with him thought and action were one," Devadas replied, rather apologetically.

"Well, he's only an infant."

And now a fellow Indian had put a shot through him.....

I spent the evening with Bernard Shaw listening to the wireless. There were adulatory tributes from King, President and Prime Minister.

The telephone rang; the world wished to know what he felt. For once the man who always managed to say the final word about everything found himself at a loss for words. He looked at me hopelessly and then said:

"It proves what I have always stated: it is dangerous to be good!" I thought of the very last words in "Saint Joan": "O God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy saints? How long, O Lord, how long?"

In England

When Gandhi was in England for the Round Table Conference I had a good opportunity of seeing him with all sorts and conditions of men. His was the voice of India it was the gentlest voice I have ever heard, and yet no person could laugh at himself more heartily. He described a visit from Bernard Shaw. Luckily for both of them it was not on the silent day, for Gandhi set aside every Monday for silence and meditation. Both squatted on the floor, Gandhi in his "minus fours," as he called his loin cloth, and Shaw in his London clothes. It was a typical November day, foggy and cold. "I found him quite amusing," was all Gandhi would say of the visit.

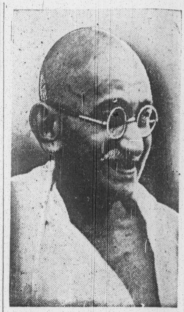
G.B.S. has since described this meeting: "When I visited Gandhi I noticed he was sitting uncomfortably on a huge upholstered chair. I seized the situation at once. I said: 'Won't you sit on the floor as you do at home?' I sat likewise and instantly we became friends."

Patient Listener

All people instantly became friends with him. His tolerance was amazing. There was no touch of fanaticism in him, for he himself was the greatest critic of his own thought and deed. He thought of his life as an experiment in truth. A wrong act on his part worried him until he set it right and he took responsibility for the wrong acts of others as if he had committed them. He never failed to forgive and to forget when he himself was the victim. He was a wonderful listener, continuing his spinning while satesman pleaded and colleague conferred, entering happily into the thought of others, often assisting the supposed adversary to express himself.

All Were Equal

He never attempted to score a point. Fools who came to scoff remained to pray: at the evening service it was easy for Christian, Jew and Mohammedan to join in; for to him all belief led to the same thing, the absolute oneness of God. Before him all were equal. Once Ramsay MacDonald arrived for an urgent consultation, but a postman had walked all the way from Bow to Knightsbridge, because he wanted to pay his respects. "I'll see the man of letters first," Gandhi said decisively. And then he explained to me: "You see, a statesman can wait, for that is his job; he is always waiting till circumstances force him to move."



GANDHIJI

After so many years of struggle his vitality was astonishing: a hard day's work, often till past midnight, then the long drive home from Knightsbridge to his little resting place in the East End of London, up again at four in the morning ready for his devotions and a long walk in the Forest, and back again to the Conference. In a treacherous November he remained well throughout, meeting coughing Englishmen with a smile and dietetic advice. When he saw the portrait which my wife was completing, he lifted a brush, dipped it into paint as one accustomed to it, and signed his name. "I am also a creative artist. My canvas is India."

And now we have an authoritative life, "Mahatma Gandhi" written by three men whom he deeply respected: a lawyer, a scholar, and a statesman. Mr. Polak, who concentrates on the early years, was Gandhi's closest colleague in South Africa; Mr. Brailsford, who describes the middle years, knew him well, and Lord Pethick Lawrence was Secretary of State for India and can tell the inside story of the negotiations that ultimately led to the granting of independence. All three have contented themselves with the graphic story of events, letting each episode speak for itself. Though we are told in a note that each author does not necessarily agree with views expressed in any other part of the book, the narrative runs smoothly and remains remarkably consistent. These three good Westerners all find themselves using most unusual terms: all consider him a saint. Brailsford writes: "The puzzle is to grasp as a single harmonious personality Gandhi the tactician and organizer and Gandhi the saint."

Legal Outlook

Pethick-Lawrence on the same point declares: "Strange as it always seemed to many of his contemporaries, Gandhi always carried with him to his dying day the legal outlook which he had imbibed during his early youth when he had studied law in a lawyer's office in London. This unusual combination of the saint and the lawyer made him often a baffling person with whom to conduct negotiations." And Polak gives an even more complex character: "He had thus in his blood two traits of the successful negotiator, a good head for business and the art of the public administrator familiar with the problems of state-craft and the handling of men. These aptitudes often came to his aid at critical moments of his public life."

And to this must be added his reading of Ruskin and Tolstoy, of Thoreau and Henry Salt and his determination to translate

(*Please turn over*)

Surajmal's
Jewellers
313, ESPLANADE, MADRAS.

IN A JOVIAL MOOD, the Mahatma wears the hat of a girl.

Portrait of Pak's Prime Minister

This bald, brown, bespectacled graduate of Oxford University belongs to a family which claims descent from Nausherwan the Just, Shah of Iran, writes Mohsin Ali in "Toronto Star."

To the outsider it must appear strange that when Pakistan came into existence on August 15, 1947 Liaquat Ali Khan should have so inevitably become its Premier. For he had never lived within the territories over whose Government he was called to preside, and when he flew to take office in Karachi and nationality as a Pakistani, he left his fine house in New Delhi and his estates at Karnal in the East Punjab, both in the sister Dominion of India.

A Linguist

Nor does the 53-year-old Premier come of any of the many races which go to make up Pakistan. He is of medium height, shorter and less heavily built than the Pathan from the turbulent North-West Frontier; the spare, wiry Baluch of Baluchistan wears his hair in long, oiled curls, and rides on horseback over the barren hills, while Liaquat (rather on the plump side & without much hair to speak of) prefers the comfort of his well-padded Cadillac. He would seem to have little in common with the Arabs, Baluchs, Brahuis, Jats, Mahranis, and Sindhis of Sind, or with the Mongoloid-Dravidians of East Bengal.

He speaks neither Punjabi nor Bengali, Sindhi nor Pushtu. He was brought up in the United Provinces, today part of the Dominion of India, and his mother-tongue is Urdu. He is eloquent also in English, and scholarly in Arabic and Persian.

How then is he the Prime Minister of a people whose language are not his, among whom he has come to live so recently? The answer is to be found in the great unifying force that binds together these peoples of diverse race, language, origin, and physical environment.

Dignified Self-control

Liaquat Ali's family came to India from Iran about 500 years ago. He was born on a family estate at Karnal. After graduating from the Mohammedan Anglo-Orient College, Aligarh, he went to England, to study at Exeter College, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1921. He completed his terms in the Inner Temple, and was called to the Bar in 1922, returned to India the same year, and joined the All-India Moslem League in 1923.

He never practised as a barrister, but preferred to devote his energies to social, educational, and political activities, being elected to the United Provinces Legislative Council in 1926. For six of his 14 years' membership of that body he was its deputy president.

Liaquat Ali was elected to the Indian Central Legislative Assembly in New Delhi in 1940, becoming soon afterwards Deputy Leader of the Moslem League Party in the House, and speedily establishing a reputation as a fine speaker and a first-class debater. One gift that stood him in good stead was his dignified self-control.

From previous page.

British Tributes to Gandhiji

their teachings into practice. It may be said that he came to his own Hindu religion by way of Western literature. "Not such a simple man after all," you will conclude, and suddenly you read: "In the Sistine Chapel he stood before the Crucifix and murmured to his friend: 'One can't help being moved to tears.'" Art moved him to tears!

Pregnant Sentence

The most pregnant sentence in the whole book, which puts Gandhi in the front rank of all teachers is: "He endowed Indians with the courage to be free." What greater tribute could be paid to any man? He awakened this gentle and passive nation from the slumber of centuries, he broke the paralysis, the consciousness of a predestined inferiority that had oppressed his people from their childhood. They shed their servility and thought henceforward as free men. Gandhi's faith was justified.

His influence has spread beyond his own nation, and as President Truman put it: "Gandhi was a leader of international stature." I wonder what Gandhi would have thought of such a tribute. I can hear him say with that smile of his: "In the construction of the human body, God set a limit to man's ambitions; I am so constructed that I can only serve my immediate neighbours." The whole story of how well he served them has yet to be told, how he identified himself with the Untouchables, shared a room with two of them, how he set to work organizing village sanitation rationally, how he taught the peasants who lived in nauseating filth to construct latrines and manure pits, how to make compost and how to use it to enrich the exhausted soil of their fields.

Sovereign Principle

Realizing how miserable is the customary diet of the poorest, he attacked the polished rice of the mills and wrote articles on the best way of cooking unpolished rice. He was horrified that the Indian villager ate practically no green vegetables, so he taught them the importance of salads which he had learnt in England: he opened, in fact, the road of the Untouchables, the most despised and rejected of men, to freedom.

The best corrective to undue adulation is Gandhi's autobiography, "The Story of My Experiments With Truth" where he tells how he came to his way of life. The road was far from easy, and it is in keeping with his character that he scorns being called saint or Mahatma.

I had fortunately not yet become "Mahatma," not even "Bapu" (father); friends used to call me by the loving name of "Bhai" (brother.)

The word "saint," he says, should be ruled out of present life. "I claim to be nothing but a humble servant of India and humanity. I have no desire to found a sect. . . ." In a style all his own, simple, direct, revealing, he builds up a character in which truth is the sovereign principle, not only truthfulness in word but truthfulness in thought also. There has never been a book like this before.

GIVING DARSHAN to the people

National Herald
25.6.49

95

Indian News Chronicle
Statesman
25-6-49

GANDHI MEMORIAL IN WASHINGTON

Bill Reintroduced In Congressional Session

WASHINGTON, June 23.—Sirdar J. J. Singh, president of the India League of America, told a House of Representatives Sub-Committee yesterday that erection of a monument to Mahatma Gandhi in Washington would "greatly enhance the present friendly relations between India and the United States". He was testifying in favour of the Gandhi Memorial Bill which would authorise the India League and other interested organisations to erect a monument by public subscription in the United States capital.

"At a time which is troubled and confused and when no simple answer can be given to any question, it would be most seemly for us to pay uninhibited tribute to this figure of simplicity and goodwill.

"It is not that we thus immortalise Mahatma Gandhi. He is already immortalised far beyond what a simple monument can do.

"It will bespeak, however, our friendly feelings for India, whose beloved son he was. It will tie closer those bonds of sympathy and co-operation between the two countries which already exist".

The bill was introduced in a previous Congressional session by Representative Emanuel Celler (Democrat, New York), who also testified in its favour yesterday. Since action was not taken on the bill earlier it was reintroduced during the present session.

Sirdar Singh told the sub-committee, "My colleagues and I feel that the passage of this bill will release a tremendous flow of goodwill from the people of India for the people of the United States.

"Mahatma Gandhi's name is revered and respected not only in India but in the entire world, and from my personal experience I find that the people of the United States feel particularly close to Mahatma Gandhi and the principles and ideals for which he stood.

"This was observed in many memorial meetings which were held in the U.S.A. soon after Mahatma Gandhi's death. The American audiences—men, women, and children—wept unashamedly and felt as if they had lost someone very close to them."

CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE

Representative Celler said, "I think it is particularly fitting that our country which has taken its place as the most responsible of nations for keeping the peace of the world, would take the first step in marking and emphasising Mahatma Gandhi's contribution to peace.

Senator Karl Mundt (Republican, South Dakota), Representative James Utter (Republican, Pennsylvania) and Mr. Frederick V. Murphy of the Federal Fine Arts Commission, also registered their support to the bill. It must be approved by the full committee before being presented to the House of Representatives.

Sirdar J. J. Singh said after the hearing that the India League hoped to raise ten million dollars to erect a memorial building in Washington and had asked for a grant of four or five acres of land. The building would have seats for 500 people, a library of books by and about Mahatma Gandhi and art exhibits illustrating India's history and culture.

The sub-committee accepted a suggestion by Sirdar Singh that the monument should be built within five years instead of the two specified in the bill.—PTI-Reuter.

SHANKER KISTAYYA RELEASED

AMBALA, June 24.—Shanker Kistayya, an accused in the Gandhi Murder Case who was acquitted by the East Punjab High Court was released from the Ambala Central Jail this evening.

Shankar left for Sholapur immediately by train escorted by police.

Dr. Dattatariya Sadashiv Parachure, another accused in the Gandhi Murder Case who has also been acquitted by the High Court was also released, but was rearrested under Section 3 of the East Punjab Public Safety Act.—PTI.

Leader 25-6-49

94

GANDHI MONUMENT MOVE IN WASHINGTON

BILL IN CONGRESS

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10 MILLION DOLLARS WILL BE RAISED

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THE LEADER

SUNDAY, JUNE 26, 1949.

My religion has no geographical limits. If I have a living faith in it, it will transcend my love for India herself.—MAHATMA GANDHI.

THE TRIAL ENDS

MAKERS of history usually end their lives as martyrs. The cause is not far to seek. Such men try to lead mankind through the strait gate that leads to life. In doing so they seek to destroy the vested interests of large sections of the community who stand to gain if mankind prefers the wide gate that leads to perdition. Socrates, Jesus, Dayanand, Shankaracharya and others had to die because their teachings were considered harmful by the pillars of society in their times. To this class of martyr-makers of history belonged Mahatma Gandhi. The trial of his assassins has just concluded. The East Punjab High Court has dismissed the appeal of Nathuram Godse and held that the crime did not have its origin in the diseased mind of a single fanatic: it was the result of a conspiracy. It is not our purpose to enter into a detailed discussion of the manner in which the trial and the subsequent appeal were conducted. The trial was an anti-climax. The public took little interest in the proceedings, for it did not matter to them whether Godse was hanged. What mattered had gone out of their lives for ever.

The Mahatma Gandhi murder trial has achieved one result. It has shown to the world that in its respect for the rule of law, this country is next to none in the world. The murder was the most terrible political assassination in the history of mankind. But the courts of law gave to the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi the same patient hearing and the same courtsey to his counsel as in any other trial for murder. The words of the charge against Nathuram Godse that he 'wilfully and of malice 'aforethought did commit the 'murder of *one* Mohandas 'Karamchand Gandhi' may have jarred on the ears of India's millions. But they proved to the world that the state founded under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi is a secular state where law is king.

The great problem before the Government and the people of this country is: what to do with the assassin? Both courts have held that he has committed a cold-blooded murder and therefore must pay the usual penalty for his crime. That is what the law would say. But at this stage the territory of law ends. The rule of law was vindicated on the last day of this trial when, after a fair trial, the sentence of death was confirmed. But should the sentence on the assassin of Mahatma Gandhi be executed? The answer to this question will not be found in jurisprudence. When the sentence of death was announced by the special judge, Mr. Atma Charan, in his masterly judgment, we expressed our view that Mahatma Gandhi's personality should not be associated with the killing of a human being, not even of his assassin. Nothing has happened to induce us to change this view. The common argument that commutation of the death sentence on Godse will be a direct encouragement to others, has no force in this case. It was the murder of Mahatma Gandhi. Men like him come to this world but once in a millennium. 'I 'come only to re-establish the 'law of *Dharma* in each *Yuga*.'

We believe we are echoing the sentiments of millions in this country in saying that there should be no killing resulting from a trial associated with the name of the greatest prophet of *ahimsa* and forgiveness since the Gautama Budha. People who pride themselves as hard-headed, practical men will laugh at this view and dismiss it as mere sentimentality. To such men we may put an aspect of the matter which might appeal to their 'practical' sense. Nathuram Godse represents a definite school of thought—a thought based on an evil philosophy. At present the followers of this philosophy are demoralised. But it would be a grave mistake to assume that Godse's philosophy is dead. It may be dormant, but not dead. One of the things on which a cause, however evil, prospers is martyrdom. Our earnest request to the Government of India is: do not make a martyr of Godse. Let him live and earn the contempt of humanity for the rest of his life.

Indian Express
27-6-49

KASTURBA TRUST BOARD MEETS

SARDAR RE-ELECTED CHAIRMAN

BOMBAY, June 26.

Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, was re-elected Chairman of the Kasturba Gandhi National Trust for a period of three years, at the annual meeting of its Board of Trustees, held here today. Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Vice-Chairman of the Trust, presided.

Mr. A. V. Thakkar was re-elected General Secretary of the Trust for a period of three years.

The following were elected to the Executive Committee of the Trust for the year 1949-50, besides the Chairman, Vice-Chairman and the Secretary: Smt Ashadevi Aryanayakam, Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Mr. Srikrishnadas Jaju, Mr. Goshiben Captain, Smt. Mridula Sarabhai, Lady Premlila Thackersey, Srts. Susheela Pai and Rameshwari Nehru and Mr. S. N. Morarjee.

The Trustees adopted the report and accounts of the Trust for the year ended December 31, 1948.

During the year under report the Trust spent Rs. 6,22,008 on its various schemes of training, Gram Seva Centres etc.

For the year 1949 the Trustees sanctioned a budget of Rs. 15,72,190 for administration, training of women workers, village service centres etc. The Trustees have also sanctioned a grant of Rs. 40,500 through the Trust for Sindhi women and children, New Delhi; for starting 5 'Narishalas,' 5 'Balbhawans' and awarding stipends to poor Sindhi girls.

The Executive Committee of the Trust at its meetings on June 24 and 25 in Bombay passed a number of schemes and recommended various budgets to the tune of Rs. 1,49,588 for locating a permanent Gram Sevika Vidyalaya in Maharashtra and East Punjab and starting a number of Gram Seva Centres.

It has been decided to have a camp of the directoresses of the various Provincial Training Vidyalayas some time in October next.

The next meeting of the Executive Committee and the provincial agents will be held some time in October or November at Sevagram.—P.T.I.

H. T. 2-7-49

91

Washington Memorial To Mahatma Gandhi

J. J. SINGH'S PLAN TO COLLECT RS 4 CRORES

NEW YORK, June 30.—Mr J. J. Singh, moving spirit behind the proposed Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Foundation in Washington, said today that he was hopeful of raising $10 million (about Rs. 4 crores), the monetary target set by the sponsors for the Foundation.

The amount would be collected, he said, "mostly in the U.S.A." although donations from India and other parts of the world, where the proposal was found to make an appeal, would be welcome."

Bills to secure Congressional sanction for the Foundation have already been introduced by Mr Emanuel Celler in the House of Representatives and by Mr Hubert H. Humphery in the Senate.

Mr Singh said money would come from individuals as well as corporations, big and small, throughout the U.S.A. Help from all sides would be forthcoming. Churches and religious denominations of every description would set apart one particular Sunday, when sermons on Mahatma Gandhi's ideals of peace would be given and collections would be made for the Foundation.

Schools and colleges too wished to play their part and voluntary individual contributions of not more than five cents would be made by pupils. This had been agreed to, Mr Singh said, in order to let the youth of the country be actively associated with the message of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Foundation is expected to occupy about five acres of land. This may be on the outskirts of Washington, but within the district of Columbia.

The memorial building to be erected will have galleries in which historical exhibits from India and outstanding Indian art collections will be on display, either permanently or from time to time.

The propagation of Mahatma Gandhi's ideals of universal brotherhood will be one of the main uses to which the memorial will be put.

Among other proposals to catch the Indian atmosphere as far as possible, is one to plant typical Indian trees around the memorial building.

Banyan or *pipal* trees are considered possible selections as they may thrive in Washington's climate.—P.T.I.

TOLSTOY AND GANDHIJI

(BY LOUIS FISCHER)

"Passive Resistance is, in reality, nothing else than the teaching of love uncorrupted by false interpretation," wrote Count Leo Tolstoy in one of his longest letters to Mahatma Gandhi. Louis Fischer depicts in this article how the book, "The Kingdom of God is Within You," made Gandhiji the disciple of the Russian philosopher.

During the time Mohandas K. Gandhi was studying law in London, he went over to Paris to tour the 1890 great Paris Exhibition. Among other things, Gandhi saw the Eiffel Tower, which was then new. Count Leo Tolstoy, the Russian novelist, had called the tower a monument to man's folly. Gandhi read this disparaging remark and concurred. This was Gandhi's first, slight acquaintance with Tolstoy.

But in the period of twenty-one years that Gandhi spent in South Africa, Tolstoy became one of the decisive influence in his life.

In Gandhi's law office in Johannesburg there were several books about Tolstoy on religious subjects. It was in prison, however, that Gandhi fully absorbed Tolstoy's teaching.

Born in 1828 into the ancient Russian nobility, Tolstoy had wealth, lived in high society, and wrote of love, strife and life with unprecedented discernment and genius. "War and Peace," probably the world's greatest novel, "Anna Kzenina," "Resurrection" and other works all brought him colossal success and international recognition. But his soul always tormented him; the discrepancy between Christianity and Christ troubled him. From early manhood he was a reformer; later he reformed himself.

In central Russia the Slav aristocrat grappled with the same spiritual problems that occupied a Hindu lawyer in South Africa.

MY RELIGION

Tolstoy formulated his creed in 1884 in a book called "My Religion," of which, owing to rigorous Czarist censorship, only fifty copies were printed. That year he proposed to give his estate to his wife and thus escape from "intolerable luxury"; in 1885 he abandoned smoking, meat eating and hunting, and began to take long, cross-country walks. He cultivated the simple life, went barefoot, wore a plain muzhik's smock and trousers, and plowed, harrowed and planted along with the peasants. In 1891, he actually divided his property among his wife and children and devoted himself to popular education, famine relief, and writing about vegetarianism, marriage and theology. Though he excoriated church institutions, and sovereigns after the true faith made his Yasnaa Polyana their mecca. Christians, Jews, Moslems and Hindus and Buddhists came from the four corners of the earth to sit at the feet of the famous nobleman who had drunk his fill of material pleasure and now, nearing 70, sought God.

In 1893, Tolstoy wrote a book entitled "The Kingdom of God is Within You." The name of the volume is the gospel of its author. It was this volume that Gandhi read in prison. It made him a disciple of Tolstoy.

"The history of the church," Tolstoy bluntly affirmed in his book, "is the history of cruelty and horror.... Between churches in the ecclesiastical sense and Christianity, not only is there nothing in common except the name, but they are utterly contradictory and hostile elements." Furthermore, "every church, with its doctrines of redemption and salvation, and above all the Orthodox faith (of Russia) with its idolatry, excludes the doctrine of Christ." Impartially, and with icy logic and myriad quotations Tolstoy proved to his own satisfaction that all Christian churches try to conceal the true meaning of the doctrine of Christ.

Tolstoy confirmed Gandhi in his love of Christ and supplied him with an armful of arguments against those Christian clergymen in South Africa and India who denied a saint needed enrollment in a church.

FIRST CONTACT

Gandhi's first personal contact with Tolstoy was in the form of a letter, written in English, and dated "Westminster Palace Hotel, 4 Victoria Street, S.W., London, October 1, 1909," and mailed from there to Yasnaa Polyana in central Russia. The purpose of the letter was to acquaint the Russian novelist with the civil disobedience in Transvaal. Which had been going on for almost three years. Gandhi reported that of the British Indian population of nearly 13,000 in Transvaal "nearly one-half ... have withdrawn from the Transvaal rather than submit to a law which they considered degrading. Of the other half, nearly 2,500 have, for conscience's sake, allowed themselves to be imprisoned—some as many as five times."

This long letter of Gandhi's also asked Tolstoy's permission to translate and print twenty thousand copies of Tolstoy's "Letter to a Hindu" on the unrest in India.

In this "Letter," Tolstoy had made certain remarks about the doctrine of reincarnation, and Gandhi inquired whether, in translation, he would allow this section to be deleted.

In Tolstoy's diary entry for September 24th, 1909 (the Russian calendar was then thirteen days behind the western calendar), he wrote, "Received a pleasant letter from a Hindu of the Transvaal." Four days later, Tolstoy wrote letter to Vladimir G. Chertkov, his intimate friend, later, the editor of his collected works, saying, "The letter of the Transvaal Hindu has touched me."

Under date of Yasana Polyana, October 7, (20) 1909, Tolstoy wrote a reply to Gandhi in Russian.

The Russian text was translated to English by Tolstoy's daughter Tatiana, who mailed it to Gandhi. Tolstoy wrote, "I have just received your most interesting letter, which has given me great pleasure. God help our dear brothers and co-workers in the Transvaal. The same struggle of the soul against the harsh, of meekness and love against pride and violence, is making itself felt every year more and more among us here. As to the word reincarnation, I should not myself like to omit it, for in my opinion, belief in reincarnation can never be as firm as belief in the immortality of the soul and in God's justice and love. However do as you please. I greet you fraternally and am happy to have contact with you (signed) Tolstoy."

Gandhi's second letter to Tolstoy was written in Johannesburg on April 4, 1910, and was accompanied by a copy of Gandhi's little book, "Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule." In the letter Gandhi said, "As a humble follower of yours, I send you herewith a booklet which I have written. It is my own translation of a Gujarati writing. Curiously enough, the original writing has been confiscated by the Government of India. I therefore hastened the publication. I am most anxious not to worry you, but if your health permits it, and if you could find the time to go through the booklet, needless to say I shall value very highly your criticism of the writing. I am sending also a few copies of your "Letter to a Hindu", which you authorised me to publish. It has been translated in one of the Indian languages I am, Your obedient servant, (signed) M. K. Gandhi.

On April 19, 1910 Tolstoy wrote as follows in his diary: "This morning two Japanese arrived. Wild men in ecstasy over European civilization. On the other hand, the book and the letter of the Hindu reveal an understanding of all the shortcomings of European civilization and even of its total insolvency."

Next day there was another entry in Tolstoy's diary: "Yesterday I read Gandhi on civilization. Very good," and again the next day: "Read a book about Gandhi. Very important. I must write to him." The reference to the book about Gandhi is the "Biography of Gandhi" by J. J. Doke, which Gandhi had sent to Tolstoy.

A day later, Tolstoy wrote a letter to his friend Chertkov, in which he mentioned Gandhi's letter and Gandhi's passive resistance struggle in South Africa. Referring to Gandhi he said, "He is a person very close to us to me."

PASSIVE RESISTANCE

Tolstoy replied to Gandhi on April 25 (May 8), 1910 from Yasana Polyana. He wrote, "Dear Friend; I just received your letter and your book, Indian Home Rule. I read your book with great interest because of the things and questions you treat in it: the passive resistance—is a question of the greatest importance, not only for India but for the whole of humanity.

"I cannot find your former letters, but came across your biography by J. Doss (this is a mistake made by Tolstoy. L.F.) which too interested me much and have me the possibility to know and understand your letter. I am not quite well at present and therefore abstain from writing to you all that I have to say about your book and all your work, which I appreciate very much, but I will do it as soon as I will feel better. Your friend and brother, L. Tolstoy."

The above is the English translation which Gandhi received of Tolstoy's much more literary Russian.

Gandhi's third letter to Tolstoy is dated "21-24 Court Chambers, corner Rissik and Anderson Streets, Johannesburg, August 15, 1910." In this communication Gandhi acknowledged Tolstoy's letter of May 8, thanked him for it and added: "I shall look forward to your detailed criticism of the work which you have been so good as to promise in your letter." Gandhi also informed Tolstoy of the establishment of Tolstoy Farm by Mr. Kallenbach and himself. He said that Kallenbach was writing to Tolstoy about the farm. The letters of Gandhi and Kallenbach, accompanied by several issues of Gandhi's weekly, "Indian Opinion," heightened Tolstoy's interest in Gandhi. In his diary of September 6, (19), 1910, Tolstoy wrote, "Pleasant news from Transvaal about the passive resistance colony." Tolstoy was at this time in a state of serious spiritual depression and was physically ill. Nevertheless, he replied to Gandhi's letter on the day he received it. Tolstoy dictated the letter on the evenings of the 5th and 6th of September (18 and 19). On the 7th (20), Tolstoy corrected the letter and sent it in Russian to Chertkov for English translation.

It was Chertkov who mailed Tolstoy's letter to Gandhi. Chertkov included in the letter a letter of his own in which he said "My friend, Leo Tolstoy, has requested me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him of August 15th and to translate into English his letter to you of September 7 (new style —20 Sept.) written originally in Russian.

TOLSTOY'S GREETINGS

"All you communicate about Mr. Kallenbach has greatly interested Tolstoy who has asked me to answer for him. Mr. Kallenbach's letter Tolstoy sends you and your co-workers his heartiest greetings and warmest wishes for the success of your work, his appreciation of which you will gather from the enclosed translation of his letter to you. I must apologize for my mistakes in English in the translation; but living in the country in Russia, I am unable to profit by the assistance of any English-man for correcting my mistakes.

"With Tolstoy's permission his letter to you will be published in a small periodical printed by some friends of ours in London. A copy of the magazine with the letter shall be forwarded to you, as also some English publications of Tolstoy's writings issued by "The Free Age Press."

"As it seems to me most desirable that more should be known in English about your movement, I am writing to a great friend of mine and Tolstoy. Mrs. Maye of Glasgow, proposing that she should enter into communication with you...."

Chertkov sent a separate letter to Mr. Kallenbach.

Tolstoy's own letter to Gandhi was the longest in the whole correspondence. Dated September 7 (20) 1910 and translated into English by Chertkov, it was mailed to an intermediary in England for posting to Gandhi. The intermediary was ill at the time and only mailed the letter on November 1, so that Gandhi received the letter in the Transvaal several days after the death of Count Leo Tolstoy. Gandhi was not satisfied with Chertkov's English rendering and had it retranslated by Pauline Paklauhuk on November 15, 1910. It was published at the time and only mailed the letter on November 1, so that Gandhi received the letter in the Transvaal several days after the death of Count Leo Tolstoy. Gandhi was not satisfied with Chertkov's English rendering and had it retranslated by Pauline Paklauhuk on November 15, 1910. It was published at the time and only mailed the letter on November 1, so that Gandhi received the letter in the Transvaal several days after the death of Count Leo Tolstoy. Gandhi was not satisfied with Chertkov's English rendering and had it retranslated by Pauline Paklauhuk on November 15, 1910. It was published in "Indian Opinion" in 1914 on the occasion of Gandhi's great victory for civil disobedience in South Africa.

Tolstoy said: "The longer I live, and especially now when I vividly feel the nearness of death, I want to tell others what I feel so particularly clearly and what to my mind is of great importance —namely, that which is called passive resistance but which in reality is nothing else than the teaching of love uncorrupted by false interpretations.

"That love.... is the highest and only law of human life and in the depth of his soul every human being (as we see most clearly in children) feels and knows this; he knows this until he is entangled by the false teachings of the world. This law was proclaimed by all, by the Indian as well as by the Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman sages of the world....

"In reality, as soon as force was admitted into love, there was no more and there could be no more love as the law of life, and as there was no law of love, there was no law at all, except violence —i.e. the power of the strongest. Thus, Christian mankind has lived for nineteen centuries...."

Gandhi's three letters to Count Leo Tolstoy are in the archive of Vladimir G. Chertkov in Moscow.

The texts of Gandhi's three letters in the original English and in the Russian translation, as well as the Russian originals of Tolstoy's three letters and the English translations of the first two plus the several diary entries quoted above, appeared in a Soviet collection entitled "Literaturnoye Nasledstvo (Literary Heritage), published in Moscow in 1939—(Copyright).

5/7/49 THE TIMES OF INDIA

89

Promotion Of Interests Of "Father Of The Nation"

DOMINION SPEAKER'S VIEWS ON USE OF MEMORIAL FUND

From Our Staff Correspondent

AHMEDABAD, July 4.

THE Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund has now reached the figure of Rs. 9,28,68,555, according to information available here. Of this sum, Rs. 9,08,00,000 have been invested in Government securities.

The Fund is being administered by a board of trustees of whom Dr. Rajendra Prasad is Chairman, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Vice-Chairman and Mr. L. P. Asar Secretary. They will all function for a period of three years. There is also an Executive Committee consisting of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and seven others. The committee is to meet at the end of this month to consider various suggestions as to the lines on which the fund is to be utilised.

Among the lifelong associates of Mahatma Gandhi, who have made suggestions, is the Hon. Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Speaker of the Dominion Parliament, who says that steps should be taken to acquire and preserve Gandhiji's birthplace at Porbandar, two ashrams at Ahmedabad as well as the Sewagram Ashram, all places of importance in the whole of India where any important events in the life of Gandhiji took place, such as at Motihari in Bihar, where he first launched Satyagraha by defying the orders of the authorities thirty-two years ago, the first place of mass Satyagraha when he advised his followers not to pay land revenue, the Bhangi colony at Delhi, where he held his usual prayers, the Aga Khan's palace in Poona one of the World chawls, where he sometimes resided during his stay in Bombay, cells in Yeravda and Sabarmati jails, where he was incarcerated and places in different parts of the country where he undertook his thirteen fasts.

Mr. G. V. Mavlankar

GANDHIJI'S ACTIVITIES

Mr. Mavlankar also suggests that a column should be erected at each of these places with a suitable inscription, and that a comprehensive history of India from 1915 to 1945, with special reference to Gandhiji's activities, should be published. Among the objects of the fund are the conducting and promotion of the manifold interests of the Father of the Nation, particularly constructive activities for the general uplift of the poor in this country, to establish and maintain charitable hospitals and institutions, to promote sanitary measures in rural areas, and to take steps for the prevention and cure of leprosy.

The Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund, which is being managed by trustees, amounts to Rs. 1,44,96,732. The Fund is being utilised for the promotion of Gramseva Pravesh and Gramsevika training, basic teachers' training and for starting leprosy relief centres in the country.

State man
6.7.

NATHURAM GODSE TO FILE APPEAL

Nathuram Godse, assassin of Mahatma Gandhi, who was recently sentenced to death by the East Punjab High Court, has written to Mr Ganpat Rai, a defence counsel in the case, requesting him to make necessary arrangements to appeal to the Privy Council or to the Supreme Court of India, if India is declared a Republic by that time, against the findings of the East Punjab High Court charging him with conspiracy to murder Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr Ganpat Rai has approached the Chief Commissioner of Delhi with a request that Nathuram Godse, Narayan Apte, Vishnu Karkare, Madanlal Pahwa and Gopal Godse be transferred to Delhi jail to enable the defence to have consultations with them.

Mr Ganpat Rai has also requested the Chief Commissioner for a stay of the execution of Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte until the disposal of the appeal—PTI.

U. S. MEMORIAL FOR GANDHIJI

BILL PASSED BY LOWER HOUSE

INDIA LEAGUE TO BEAR COST

WASHINGTON, July 14.

The United States House of Representatives to-day passed a Bill to erect a memorial in Washington to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Bill gives authority to the India League, or any other body organised for the purpose, to erect within five years a memorial "testifying to the wisdom and leadership of Mahatma Gandhi as a philosopher and statesman" on a plot of ground selected by the United States Fine Arts Commission.

The Bill must receive Senate approval before it becomes effective.

It was sponsored by Representative Emanuel Celler (Democrat of New York), and had the support of the State Department and the United States Fine Arts Commission.

The memorial would be presented to the people of the United States, without cost to the Government, and the cost of maintenance would be borne by the organisation undertaking its erection.

Representative Celler's office said today that the cost would be borne by the India League of America.—PTI-Reuter.

Indian News Chronicle

WEDNESDAY, JULY 27, 1949.

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

The Trust Deed of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund does define in general terms the objects for which the fund—amounting to nearly Rs. 10 crores—is to be utilised. When it comes to administering the fund, however, these general objects by themselves cannot ensure that the money will be spent entirely on projects dear to Gandhiji's heart, which have been also perhaps vaguely in the minds of the trustees and the donors. The Congress Working Committee's resolution on the objects of the fund limiting them to promotion "of the high ideals of Gandhiji by practical work in the sphere of constructive activities" is more precise. But it too does not help in answering the many questions that the actual administration of the fund is bound to raise. For example, are any sums out of the Fund to be paid as grants to any institution or individuals who, according to the trustees, may be engaged in furthering Gandhiji's ideals or are the 'constructive activities envisaged in the Congress resolution to be undertaken directly by the Fund? Is any portion of the Fund to be spent in raising monuments to Gandhiji's memory on orthodox lines or as such expenditure, which certainly would not have been to Gandhiji's liking, to be altogether taboo? Again, who is to be the final judge as to whether a particular activity to promote which any sum out of the Fund is used is in accord with Gandhiji's views regarding constructive activities? Lastly, what is to be done to ensure that no part of the Fund, howsoever small, is used, whether directly or indirectly, to further any party or partisan ends?

The first question is pertinent because soon many institutions some of them perhaps deserving help in the context of Gandhiji's ideals, may be asking for grants from the Fund. The second demands a clear-cut answer because there may be some trustees to whom outward monuments in stone may have greater appeal—all sorts of fantastic schemes for hundreds of "stambhas" modelled on the Asoka pillars were at one time publicly mooted in this connection—than silent, unobtrusive work among the lowly and the poor to bring a little sunshine into their lives. The third question gains urgency in the context of certain attempts to take the edge off Gandhiji's principles to suit the convenience of parties and individuals seeking the support of his name for their policies and actions. Again, the last question is all-important because of the way in which Gandhiji's principles are sought to be identified with the changing political programme and tactics of the Congress, despite the greater and greater deviation of this programme from those principles to which some of Gandhiji's closest associates have themselves drawn pointed attention. A clearer definition of the purposes to promote which the Fund is to be used will require unambiguous answers to all these questions and perhaps some more. Some of them have indeed been sharply raised by Mr. Shankerrao Deo, General Secretary of the A-I.C.C., in his statement underlining the need of the Trust undertaking "to work out Gandhiji's constructive activities in the manner in which he himself would have liked to do."

Mr. Shankerrao Deo has rightly pointed out that the Trust should not become "a mere agency to dole out grants to different individuals and institutions on the basis of their individual plans," but undertake itself "to work out Gandhiji's constructive activities". What is still more pertinent, he has stressed the need for a "planned and integrated approach to this vast field of constructive work which today is being carried on by individual workers and institutions in different parts of the country, mostly unaided and wholly unco-ordinated." Once the full implications of this approach are grasped, it will be seen that there is no room in this for wasting a single pie out of the Fund on raising any monuments in stone. The entire Fund must be reserved for the service of the poor and the outcaste. What is more, as in the case of the Kasturba Fund, the trustees should see to it that the Fund is conserved as far as possible and only the annual yield on it utilised for meeting the recurring expenses on the institutions the Fund undertakes to run, the capital costs of starting the institutions should, as far as possible, be met by raising local funds. It cannot be made into a rigid rule but only thus can the Fund be made to yield the maximum result. The fact that the Fund is to be used only on furthering constructive activities should not, however, be taken to mean that a part of it is not to be devoted to preserve the articles connected with his memory and to collect and publish his writings in the various languages. The attempts to blunt his teachings and to rob them of their vitality on grounds of political expediency makes it more essential than ever that Gandhiji's teachings should be known to the people through Gandhiji's own writings and not through the writings and speeches of interpreters who may be using those teachings to further their own ends.

THOUGHT FOR TODAY

To daily much with subjects mean and low, proves that the mind is weak or makes it so.

COWPER.

INDIAN REPUBLIC

THURSDAY, JULY 28, 1949.

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

India has paid its homage to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi by raising a memorial fund amounting to nearly Rs. 10 crores. This is a testimony to the tremendous hold which the Mahatma had over his countrymen and a spontaneous tribute to the great and noble work that he did. India cannot afford to forget—now or ever—the Mahatma's work, which is written in the imperishable solid fact of the country's independence, for which he laid the foundations, deep and well.

The Gandhi Memorial Fund Committee is now confronted with the task of drawing up a plan of work for which the fund can be utilised. The Trust deed itself makes mention of a number of directions in which the fund can be expended. Its main objectives are contained in the resolution of the Congress Working Committee, which, after stating that his countrymen as well as others should help in every way the furtherance of the high ideals of Mahatma Gandhi by practical work in the sphere of constructive activities, which was so near to his heart and for which he laboured unceasingly, laid it down that

> "the National Memorial Fund should be used to carry out these constructive activities on an all-India basis. The fund may also be used to collect, preserve and publish his writings and teachings in various languages and to maintain a museum where articles connected with Gandhiji may be preserved. The main purpose of the fund, however, is to further the manifold constructive activities of a like nature which give a concrete shape to his ideals."

Gandhiji's teachings in his lifetime covered a multitude of subjects, and his uniqueness consisted in this that he practised whatever he preached. He was not a mere doctrinaire reformer prescribing rules of conduct for others but exempting himself from their observance. Much of what he said about politics may have had special significance in the particular political set-up in which he had to carry on his work. But there is much more in that which is of lasting value to India and the world in general. It is of paramount importance that these aspects of his teachings and writings, which have such permanent and perennial interest, should be systematically propagated. They have world-wide applicability and in the hands of capable men who could interpret them in the proper manner, they should form the foundation for building a solid edifice of international good will and peace. We can rest assured that in this direction his influence on world politics is already enormous and that it will increase much more hereafter.

A special duty is, however, cast on his countrymen in this respect. Those among whom he lived and worked, and for whose benefit principally he carried on his work and on whose amelioration he concentrated his attention, suffered and sacrificed, should be the exemplars to the world in practising and putting into effects the ideals he held aloft during his lifetime. It should not be said of Gandhiji, as of some other prophets, that he was more honoured abroad than in his homeland. The memorial plan should be so designed that it will provide for the realisation of his cherished ideals. Changed times probably require changed panaceas for the new problems that arise. But Gandhiji's ideals are such that they are most indigenous to the Indian soil and traditions. Their importance in the Indian context cannot be overrated.

Unfortunately in this country, his death had been the signal for a slow process of departure, by many of those who claim to be his close followers, from the path he chalked out for them. This is an unmistakable and irrefutable fact. It is sad to contemplate this but it is inescapable. But we, the nation as a whole, who are the inheritors of his great work and ideals, would be disinheriting ourselves spiritually, if we allowed these ideals to languish. The managers of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund have an uphill task in mobilising those who are prepared to devote their time and energies to the furtherance of those ideals in a missionary spirit, and in enlisting new recruits wherever necessary for the work. For it is a missionary spirit that is most wanted in carrying out the objectives of the trust. It is only when the various items in the Trust deed are carried out in that spirit that the money collected will have been spent in the manner in which Gandhiji would have most liked it. Let us hope that India will prove faithful and loyal to the memory of one, who has been designated as the "Father of the Nation."

84

Hindu 2.8.49

GANDHI MURDER CASE

ABSCONDER ARRESTED

GWALIOR, Aug. 1.

Gangadhar Sakharam Dandwate, one of the three absconders of the Gandhi Murder Case, was arrested here early this morning. He is at present lodged in Lashkar Kotwali.

The other two absconders are Gangadhar Jadhav and Suraj Deo Sharma.

Thirty-year old Dandwate, a resident of Lashkar, is alleged to be a worker of the Hindu Rashtra Sena, a volunteer organisation of Lashkar, which was banned on February 7, 1948, along with other communal organisations.

Dandwate was found absconding on February 2, 1946—three days after the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi—when the police sought to arrest him along with other members of the Hindu Rashtra Sena.

Dandwate was mentioned as absconding in the list of the accused in the Gandhi Murder Case in the *challan* produced against Godse and others, before the Special Judge's Court in Delhi on May 27, 1948.

Following the arrest of Dandwate, the police searched nearly half a dozen places in Lashkar but nothing objectionable was recovered.

DR. PARACHURE RELEASED

INDORE, Aug. 1.

Dr. D. S. Parachure, who was being held in detention after his acquittal by the East Punjab High Court in the Gandhi Murder trial appeal has now been released.

He has however been ordered by the Madhyabharat Government not to enter the nine districts of the Madhyabharat Union including Gwalior, Ujjain and Indore. He has also been ordered to report to the police his movements in the other seven districts of the Union.

Dr. Parachure is now in Dhar.—PTI.

statesman 2.8.49

GANDHI MURDER CASE ABSCONDER ARRESTED IN GWALIOR

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The other two absconders are Gangadhar Jadhav and Suraj Deo Sharma.

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Hindustan Standard 13-8

83

'Gandhi Jayanti' Celebrations

APPEAL TO FORM SPINNING CLUBS ALL OVER INDIA

AHMEDABAD, AUGUST 11.—The All-India Spinners' Association has issued an appeal to form spinning clubs all over the country in observance of the "Charka Jayanti" celebrations from Sept. 19 to Oct. 2.

Commending this appeal Dr. Rajendra Prasad states: "Gandhi Jayanti," which was named 'Charka Jayanti' by Gandhiji falls on Sept. 19 according to the Hindu Calendar and on Oct. 2 according to the English Calendar. The Charka Sangh has appealed to all people to observe these two days and also the intervening days for encouraging the khadi programme. I hope that the people of India, whether they are Government officials, labourers in fields and mills, business men or teachers in schools, or those engaged in other occupations, will spin as much as possible during these days. The country has a great demand for production and along with production for immediate consumption also. The programme of cloth self-sufficiency of the Charka Sangh satisfied both these conditions simultaneously and it is also one in which all people can take part. I pray to God that the people of India may attain success in their noble efforts on these solemn days."

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Congress President states: "The annual celebrations of Mahatma Gandhi's birthday as well as his death day will remain sacred days to the Nation to which he belonged and to the wider world which he came to serve, but are also a source of inspiration perhaps for centuries to come. He taught us lessons which we could not understand in his day, some of which we are beginning to understand now after he has left us, and many more which will be understood by our successors of future generations.

"Places which were associated with the memory of Gandhiji on account of his residence, or which formed centres of his principal activities will be either acquired for preservation or some arrangement will be made so that they might be properly preserved. But it is not our intention to acquire private houses where Gandhiji happened to be a guest," said Kaka Kalelkar Saheb, organiser of the Gandhi Smarak Sangraha, in course of an interview with U.P.I. today.

It may be noted that Kaka Kalelkar Saheb is touring the whole country in connection with the establishment of the National Museum that is proposed to be organised in memory of Mahatma Gandhi to house and preserve for the benefit of the present generation as well as of posterity all the relics of Gandhiji and literature, photographs and other materials relating to Gandhiji collected from all parts of the world.

In some places, soften Kaka Kalelkar Saheb, they would have to place a marble slab giving the date and time of Gandhiji's stay and significance of the circumstances under which he stayed there. As examples of this, he mentioned the rooms in Savarmati and Yarveda jail in which the Government had locked him.

Kaka Kalelkar said that the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi (Gandhi Memorial Trust) had decided to build and maintain a Gandhi Museum where relics of Mahatma Gandhi—things of his personal use and other things having historical or sentimental value connected with Mahatma Gandhi; letters, articles and documents written by him or at his dictation, his voice as recorded, photographs, paintings, cartoons etc., of Mahatma Gandhi, all literature in all languages by and about Mahatma Gandhi, will all be collected, preserved and made available to the public. Films recording some events in his life will also be preserved.

Kaka Kalelkar appealed to his countrymen to co-operate with him in collecting photographs of Gandhiji, books by and on Gandhiji, songs and similar other things.

U.P.I. reliably learns that Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru has sent an appeal through the External Affairs Ministry to Indian Ambassadors, Consuls and Diplomats abroad, to collect books written on Gandhiji in various languages in various parts of the world and to send them for the Gandhi Museum. Books on Gandhiji written by prominent writers in various languages, namely, German, Portuguese, Indonesian, American, Spanish and Polish are understood to have already been received by the Gandhi Smarak Sangraha.—P.T.I. & U.P.I.

H T. 17-8

Bapu's Thoughts On Independence

FROM "HARIJAN"

CELEBRATION OF THE DAY

On August 14, 1947, at Beliaghata, Gandhiji said that the next day was the fixed day of deliverance from the foreign yoke. It was, therefore, a great day. They were bound to celebrate it. In his opinion it was a day when both the Dominions were to shoulder a heavy burden. He invited every one to have 24 hours' fast and prayer during the day for the well-being of India as a whole and pass it in spinning as much as possible. For, it was hand-spinning that had knit the poor and the rich together and had given occupation to countless men and women who were without occupation. (Harijan, 24-8-'47).

NOW THAT FREEDOM HAS COME

"My views remain as they are. In the scheme of reconstruction for Free India, its villages should no longer depend, as they are now doing, on its cities, but cities should exist only for and in the interest of the villages. Therefore, the spinning wheel should occupy the proud position of the centre, round which all the life-giving village industries would revolve." (Harijan, 31-8-'47).

A GRIM WARNING

"These (members of the Constituent Assembly) have no common goal. Congressmen themselves are not of one mind even on the contents of Independence. I do not know how many swear by non-violence or the Charkha or, believing in decentralization, regard the village as the nucleus. I know on the contrary that many would have India become a first-class military Power and wish for India to have a strong centre and build the whole structure round it. In the medley of these conflicts I know that if India is to be leader in clean action based on clean thought, God will confound the wisdom of these big men and will provide the villages with the power to express themselves as they should." (Harijan, 28-7-'46)

UTILITARIANISM V. SARVODAYA

"I do not believe in the rules 'The greatest good of the greatest number' and 'Might is right.' 'The well-being of every one'—"Sarvodaya"—and 'the weak first' are the rules for man. We call ourselves bipeds and human, but have not yet been able to give up the nature of quadrupeds and the brute. "Dharma" consists in giving up this.' (From a letter reproduced in "Mahadevbhaini Diary." Vol. I, 10-7-'32).

HINDUSTHAN STANDARD

AN INDEPENDENT ORGAN OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

CALCUTTA, THE 26TH SEPT., 1949.

THE JAYANTI

THOUGH the entire life of Mahatma Gandhi was an epic of fight against injustice, essentially he was not one of those leaders who love to fight. He was one of those rare beings who fight to love. The world is to be conquered not by loving to fight but by fighting to love—that was his message to a world torn by fratricidal strife. He was really a moral leader who wanted to purify politics. And not only politics. He stood for a more moral and purer existence of man on earth and wanted to bring peace to the human race. His message of love and non-violence was exactly what the world was looking for eagerly at a critical juncture of its history. The message of the Mahatma is in essence the same as that of the Buddha and Christ and other saints and seers of history. But it had to be adapted to the exigencies of an age which is obsessed with political questions and poignantly conscious of economic issues. This was his special mission.

Mahatma Gandhi, the exponent of non-violence, it should be noted, did not deny the existence of conflict in life, nor did he ask men to keep away from conflicts. He only asked men to carry on their fight with moral weapons. And his greatness lay in the fact that he himself forged those weapons and gave demonstrations of their efficacy to a wondering world on a scale hitherto undreamt of in the annals of men. He organised a national rebellion involving one-fifth of the human race on the basis of non-violence. And he succeeded. His method of fighting—Satyagraha—is not to crush the opponent but to convert him. The non-violent weapon does not strike the body, it appeals to the heart. It is chiefly a method of inflicting suffering not on the opponent but on one's own self in order to effect a change of heart of the enemy.

Unfortunately, however, in spite of the practical demonstrations of non-violent fight which Gandhiji himself gave to the world, few have taken to the path of the Mahatma. Not that the Gandhian way has been tried and found wanting, it has been found difficult and not tried at all. The world has been raising funds and raising memorials to Gandhiji and thereafter quietly voting astronomical sums for perfecting its war machines. Unreality of celebrating Gandhi Jayanti in a world madly engaged in improving the latest type of missiles for mass murder becomes at times too oppressive. But then the celebrations are perhaps not altogether meaningless. The fact that the world bows to the memory of the Mahatma shows that after all there is in the heart of people a cord which vibrates, however slowly, to the exalted time of the Gandhian teachings. Myopic and selfish, we, in the very process of taking a path opposite to that pointed to by Gandhiji, feel in our heart of hearts that the Gandhian way is the only way to salvation, both individual and social. The nations as they, working under a spell as it were, add to their arsenals, feel most unhappy about it and recognise the ultimate futility of violence as a means to salvation or even for bare survival. Their thoughts frequently turn to the great saint who having taught love and non-violence all his life embraced death from violence of an assassin. The universal tribute of respect and sorrow at the time of his death revealed the place Gandhiji occupies in men's hearts and thoughts everywhere on earth.

The war has landed mankind in a moral wilderness. It is in this wilderness that Gandhiji fell fighting for the soul of India. The moral darkness has closed upon us almost completely. Celebrations of Gandhi Jayanti would be meaningless unless we try to follow his teachings and thereby extricate ourselves from the immorality which we have allowed to enmesh ourselves. That impious means cannot lead us to noble ends and that we cannot hope to gain anything ultimately from dishonesty have been either forgotten by us or remembered only as embellishment to our empty speeches. Unless we resolve on self-purification and adherence to truth and non-violence, mere turning of the spinning wheel will lead us nowhere.

Free press Journal 28.9.49

80

GANDHI MELA TO BE HELD IN NEW DELHI

NEW DELHI, Sept. 27.

"Gandhi National Mela"—a special feature of the Gandhi Jayanti celebrations—will be inaugurated here on Saturday by the Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

The Mela is being organised by the Delhi Municipal Committee "to propagate and popularise Gandhiji's teachings and work."

Beginning at 11 a.m. the Mela is expected to be over by 11 p.m. the next day, October 2—Mahatma Gandhi's birthday.

A life-size portrait of Mahatma Gandhi decorated with electric lights will be installed at the exhibition grounds behind Town Hall, which is the venue of the Mela. Nearly half a mile route from the Gandhi Chowk to the exhibition grounds will be gorgeously decorated with buntings and banners.

Besides a number of paintings and models of Mahatma Gandhi, important documents and literature pertaining to his life will also be displayed at the Mela.

A "Kavi Samelan" will be held on October 1 and 2 in which local poets will recite poems dealing with the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

All India Radio will relay a commentary giving an eye-witness account of the Mela.

Other features of the Mela include wrestling bouts, free cinema shows connected with the life of the Mahatma, exhibition of handicrafts and mass spinning.—PTI.

1-10-49

Nation 1-10-49

Amrita Bazar Patrika

GANDHIJI

OCTOBER 2 IS A DAY SPECIally dedicated to the memory of the Father of the Nation. He has become so much a part of our country's noblest aspirations and strivings that a particular day in the year selected for paying our homage to his memory would almost look like a meaningless formality. Yet special occasions connected with the lives of great men are remembered by the people with profound respect and gratitude, for such remembrance is a natural effort to capture the vital spirit which lies behind their greatness.

Gandhiji lives in history as the creator of India's freedom. Under his unflinching guidance through years of unprecedented storm and stress this ancient land fought for freedom with non-violent weapons. On August 15, 1947, the seemingly unending journey was over at last: the soul-killing yoke of exploiting Imperialism was set aside, and 400 millions emerged into the light and warmth of freedom. But Gandhiji was not satisfied. Two weeks after the achievement of freedom he wrote: "In the scheme of reconstruction for free India its villages should no longer depend, as they are now doing, on its cities, but cities should exist only for and in the interest of the villages". A few hours before his death he wrote: "India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its 700,000 villages as distinguished from its cities and towns". For him freedom meant the restoration of that rural civilisation which has saved India's soul and defied political changes. Had his life been spared for a few years more he would have tried to divert the stream of our national thought to rural channels.

Here, we believe, is the great secret of Mahatma's life and teaching. He insisted on the importance of the villages because he was convinced that these rural units symbolised India. His penetrating vision travelled back to the dim past and caught a flicker of ancient light. He saw the founding fathers of Indian civilisation seated in their cottages: he saw them chanting hymns, dreaming dreams of eternity, and at the same time laying down rules of political and social conduct. The roots of our civilisation lie in the forests: the *Aranyakas* express our deepest thoughts and guide our most fruitful creative efforts. Gandhiji was, however, no mere revivalist. He discarded the past without mercy when it did not satisfy modern needs. Look, for instance, at his attitude towards the caste system. He believed it lowered the moral stature of man and served as a disintegrating factor in our social relations. So he set aside the injunctions of the *Sastras* and evolved for himself and his country a new social code. But he knew that there were elements in our ancient thought and traditional socio-economic organisation which had survived the shocks of ages and thereby proved their enduring value. These elements he was anxious to preserve and to strengthen. In this land of cataclysmic political changes the people did not lose themselves: waves of foreign invasions could not submerge the villages. The ancient civilisations of Egypt, of Babylonia, of Assyria, of Persia could not survive similar shocks. Their triumphs are buried under the earth: the archaeologist's spade is now bringing them back to our notice. In India, however, we have a living civilisation, a culture still pulsating with life, moral values easily applicable to the problems of modern industrial civilisation.. The foundations were so well and truly laid by the ancient sages that the modern builder could easily build upon them. The supreme architect of our national greatness wanted to utilise the past instead of glorifying the uncongenial exotic.

Gandhiji was, in a sense, a traditionalist; but his appreciation of the value of traditions was coloured by intensely human feelings. His softness for villages was in a large measure due to his weakness for the humble, the down-trodden and the helpless. Cities symbolise power and prosperity: villages stand for weakness and poverty. Politicians who want power entrench themselves in cities. True servants of the people waste themselves away in villages. Gandhiji, the truest servant of the people, could not forget the sufferings of the villagers. He wanted to concentrate on them all our political efforts. He wanted to make the village the base of the pyramid of State. His deep understanding of the genius of our civilisation and his unaffected love for his fellow men led him to discover in the forgotten villages the eternal source of our national strength. In his scheme of things the humblest man had a part to play; but how could the humblest man play his part in the dazzling city where everything was alien to him? A nation of four hundred millions could not be made great by the isolated efforts of a few thousands. The spirit of high adventure must inspire the nation as a whole: every one must put his shoulder to the plough. That was Gandhiji's conception of democracy, and he was doubtless the greatest democrat of his age.

Gandhiji's concern for the common man transformed the Congress into a truly national organisation. For 35 years the Congress was dominated by Victorian Liberalism and Victorian eloquence. The great leaders of those days were men of sturdy patriotism, but their efforts were coloured and limited by the parochial thoughts and lifeless conventions of the age in which they lived and fought. For the first time in India's modern history Gandhiji transcended the boundaries of space and time. He took from the living West that creative optimism which explained its astounding success. He took from the seemingly dead East that uncompromising insistence on moral values which defied shattering blows through countless ages. In evolving a synthesis of contradictory conceptions of life he placed the common man—the forgotten and unknown symbol of continuity—in the very centre.

Gandhiji is dead, but his flaming spirit envelops the nation created by him. Let that spirit animate us on his birthday. Let us dedicate ourselves to the task which his mortal frame has left unfinished. Let us remember the simple words of his beloved Jawaharlal: "We have to work, we have to labour, we have to sacrifice, and thus prove, to some extent at least, worthy followers of his."

MAHATMA GANDHI

The second of October is a day of significance for India. For this day was Mahatma Gandhi's birthday. What position future history will assign Mahatma Gandhi is a speculation into which it is needless to go now. What we are more directly concerned with is his legacy for the immediate present and how far we have been able to utilize it for the benefit of the common man of whom he was a friend and comforter. We of this generation who were nearer to him know of his unceasing travail, in the interest of the masses. We are aware of the wonderful dynamism he infused into modern India's moribund life. It is no use assessing the volume or extent of his success in concrete and specific terms. It is rather the urge, the dynamism and the ineffaceable impression of his personality that he had left behind,—it is rather these contributions of his that come so near to our heart and fill it with reverence for him. To the foreigners, specially to those from Europe, Mahatma Gandhi is a phenomenon, an enigma. Because, his was a very difficult effort, the effort at a synthesis between modern dynamism and action on the one hand and ancient spirituality on the other, between strength and sacrifice, between the Eagle and the Cross, as Count Keyserling called it. This synthesis, a difficult one as it is, is a new experiment in history which he carried on with unflinching faith from the beginning till the end of his life. A greater devotion to truth and idealism was never seen; a greater sincerity of purpose never was. Mahatma Gandhi preached the gospels of truth and non-violence, visualized a Kisan-Mazdoor-Raj, eschewed communalism, and believed in the equality of all. Mahatma Gandhi's deathless spirit shines bright like a beacon light. We too, on his birthday pay due homage to his spirit.

But here in this pit of political degeneration, in this blind alley, there is no light, but it is "dark dark irreoverably dark, total eclipse, without all hope of day." Here in this country of ours where from one imprisonment we have passed into another, here there is no Mahatma Gandhi, but Mahatma Gandhi is here dead, completely dead, nay, in fact annihilated. Our Congress Governments, at the Centre and the Provinces, and the leaders who boost them up, swear by the name of Gandhiji only to give his ideals and pledges a decent burial. Gandhiji is a name, to hypnotize the masses with, into inaction, into acceptance, into surrender. Gandhiji's name is used by our leaders as a safety-valve for their own omissions and commissions. Gandhiji has been killed and killed in spirit too. Where is the state of social equality, of social freedom, of social justice that Gandhiji dreamt of? Instead we have got a capitalist-Raj foisted on us. Have not our Governments and the Congress created a condition in the country which is the very anti-thesis of Gandhiji's dreams? Where is Gandhiji then if not only on the lips of our leaders and then again as a means to an end? Not that great men's dreams have not gone in vain. On the contrary there were many who left behind them seeds that did not quicken a new birth. But it is the cruellest irony of history that Gandhiji's ideology should, so quickly after his death, in the country which was once his own arena of struggle and in the hands of those who were once his trusted friends, colleagues and disciples, meet with its complete and tragic travesty.

History is said to be a biography of ideals. Gandhiji's ideal of social and political democracy is, in every way, a part of India's recent history. Those who have failed to give his dreams a concrete embodiment, nay, even have rendered them fruitless, have ceased to be a force in the context of our modern history which is progressive and refuses to be put back. Our demand is for social and political equality, for Kisan-Mazdoor-Raj. If interested persons have rendered Gandhiji's ideals infertile, then that is a temporary phase in which reaction reigns supreme. But reaction has to be made a thing of the past with all its hand-maidens, power-politics and capitalism. It is for the masses now to assert that Gandhiji could not have died in vain: to demand that Gandhiji's pledges to the people must be fulfilled by those who pay lip-service to his name.

The Tribune

Ambala Cantt., Oct. 1, 1949

78

LET US REMEMBER

To-morrow will be the anniversary of Gandhi's birthday, the second to be observed by us without him.

Two years ago to-day he said at his evening prayer meeting:

"By taking to savagery the people in both the States had tarnished the fair name that India had earned in the world.

"They were bargaining for slavery and destruction of their great religions. They were free to do so.

"But I who staked my life to gain the independence of India do not wish to be a living witness to its destruction.

"With every breath I pray to God either to give me strength to quench the flames or remove me from this earth."

On the following day, his birthday, he spoke with even greater despondency:

"Time was when whatever I said the masses followed.

"To-day mine is a lone voice.

"I cannot live while hatred and killing mars the atmosphere.

"I, therefore, plead with you all to give up your present madness.

"You must purge your heart of hatred."

Always Gandhi thought of India as inclusive of Pakistan. He set himself as an example to Muslim, Sikh and Hindu. He believed that they should have no difficulty in accepting him. And he believed that when they accepted him, India would be an example to the world.

He wished the people on both sides of the border to accept his word and abide by it and that we in India should first set an example.

He was confident that there would be a response from Pakistan but, at the same time, he insisted that our continued good neighbourliness should not be dependent on a favourable reaction from Pakistan.

But it is evident, when one reads the record of his Delhi utterances, that the conflict that raged in every mind round him, raged equally in Gandhi's. His frequent reiteration of the duty of every Hindu and Sikh was as much to strengthen himself in his own resolve as it was a superhuman effort to reinforce their better nature in others.

He was only too aware of the distress of those who had come away from Pakistan.

Their suffering was concrete evidence of his message not having reached those for whom it was intended across the border. Hence his anxiety that his voice should be strengthened by the response of those who did not doubt his good faith and his repeatedly expressed wish to go to Pakistan.

His daily exhortations at the prayer meetings and his fast checked mob frenzy.

The manner in which he met his death, palm to palm, was his supreme moment of triumph, triumph for all that he stood for, over all that he condemned.

Immediately after the first attempt on his life he said:

"I am as firm in my faith to-day as in my early childhood. I believe God will make me an instrument of saving the religion that I love, cherish and practise."

Nine days later his wish was fulfilled and with his wish his mission on earth.

His beliefs are deeply ingrained in us by tradition and by his example. We cannot obliterate the impress he has left on our minds.

There can be no compromise between what he stood for and what he condemned.

Let us remember how Gandhi, clothed in weak flesh as any one of us, triumphed over evil first within himself and knowing that we too could give as effective battle exhorted us to follow in his wake.

Indian News Chronicle

Magazine Section

BAPU

The Devotee of His Devotees

BY - K. M. MUNSHI

A year and three quarters have gone by since Gandhiji died. A certain void, however, still persists in me. It looks a new world—a world in which something deep and essential is wanting, in a personal sense. He was great to the world; the architect of the Nation; the prophet of non-violence. But all these tributes come from the intellect; the sense of personal void arises from a deeper source. He had penetrated into the fibres of my being. The time has come out to measure the greatness of Gandhiji in general words but to record the immensity of his greatness which pervaded even his smallest acts.

In the "Bhagvad Gita", God is described as "Sarvatragama" all penetrating. In a limited sense, Gandhiji could enter the hearts of those with whom he came in close contact. If you kept the portals of your heart open, he would enter it and abide there. Then slowly and unconsciously all your thoughts and actions would come to be tested on the touch-stone of his approval. He would then no longer be a leader; a great man; not a father nor a father confessor; but something bigger and yet nearer—the divine element in your little life, warming, inspiring, uplifting it. And once you belonged to him, you were his.

Gandhiji entered my life in 1930. With Mr Jinnah, then the President of the Bombay Home Rule League, I resigned from the Congress in 1919. We found Gandhiji—revolutionary, impractical, un-understandable. I stood away from him till Baroda. But in 1930, something impelled me to join him. I offered satyagraha and was jailed for six months.

STORY OF THE CANARD

I came out of jail in October. I was an active leader of satyagraha in Bombay. A canard was started that I was a Government spy. Nobody cared to inquire what temptation could make me a spy. I had nothing to gain and, in those days, everything to lose. Politics are often dirty; a whispering campaign is a powerful instrument; and highly placed persons complained to Bapu about me.

I felt terribly annoyed. I had joined the Congress with no ambition and I asked for a personal interview from Gandhiji. At about 4 o'clock one early morning, I joined him in his morning walk. I told him what I felt. I also told him that I had decided to leave the Congress, where I found the stabs of malice more poisonous than the thrusts of swords. As I told him, the anguish of my heart expressed itself in tears. He heard me patiently; he told me not to worry. "That was politics", he said. "You must steal yourself against such weakness and I will see that no harm comes to you", he added. True to his word, he admitted me into his inner circle and up to the day of his death he was to me not only a leader but a father, a 'guru'.

Since then, he entered our life; my wife's and mine. He took interest in every small detail of our life. This was the greatest of all his gifts; he made every devotee feel that he had a place reserved for him in his heart.

My trials came with the Pakistan riots of 1941; my soul rose in revolt against Gandhiji's dictum in an interview which he gave at the time that no Congressman should resist Muslims by force, even in Hindu-Muslim riots. When I submitted my protest, he called me. After a day's consideration, he advised me to go out of the Congress and tell the country what I felt. How could I part with him? He said: "You won't part with me: you will be the dearer to me for this".

OUT OF CONGRESS

He 'blessed' me out of the Congress. I went on my 'Akhan Hindustan' tour and he took interest in every one of my activities thereafter. He followed my subsequent career with intense solicitude. Once, when Sardar, at the request of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, wanted me to stand for the Assembly, he emphatically overruled the idea. "It is not in Munshi's interest", he said. "I will fix the date of his re-entry into the Congress", he added. I left it to him, and in due time, he told me to come back to the Congress, which I did.

A similar thing happened after I had been sent to Hyderabad. The day before he died, I had an hour's conversation with him about Hyderabad. Some one had been talking wicked things about me. He frankly put them to me and I with equal frankness told him what I was doing and the plan that I was following. At the end of it, I asked him a question: "What am I to do with the man who was coming to you with such tales?" His reply was characteristic: "I have left Hyderabad to you; not to him". He left it to me to deal with this man in an appropriate manner. That was the great thing about him.

Once he entered into your heart; once he placed confidence in you, there was no going back unless you proved dishonest; no malice; no whispers, could create the slightest impression on him. That gave one confidence and the courage to take risks. That was why one always felt joy in fulfilling his wishes.

If he took a person, he took him for good and all. He took me into the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I worked for Hindi for several years with him. Then he changed over to Hindustani. I could not follow him into the wilderness of a non-Sanskritic tongue. Sanskritic culture of which modern Hindi was becoming the vehicle, was to me as dear as the breath of my life. He pressed me to take up the course of Hindustani. I frankly told him I could not. I parted company with him but he would not allow this difference of views to come in the way of our relations. This was the secret of his influence over men.

According to the Hindus, God is "Bhaktavatsala", solicitous of the welfare of His devotees; "Bhaktadhina", devoted to His devotees. Gandhiji had these qualities in more than a man's measure.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, in his birth day tribute to Gandhiji, writes about the Father of the Nation in an autobiographical view. He says that it was characteristic of Gandhiji to take interest in small details of his devotees' lives. That was the greatest of all his gifts; he made every devotee feel that he had a place reserved for him in his heart.

WOMEN IN TOP POSTS IN U.N.O.

THE struggle to achieve security and peace for mankind which, not too successfully, has involved peoples, governments, individuals and ideologies ever since the war came to an end four years ago, has caused at least two highly significant facts concerning women to emerge into view. One of these facts is that, in the industrialized society in which we of the modern world now live, woman is spared none of the hardships and costs of warfare and is affected as directly as man by the moral, social and economic unrest prevailing in the world today. The more perceptive and progressive men in public office, therefore, no longer ignore or discount the importance of woman as a weighty factor in public opinion and at the polls. On their part, women have come to realize that they must secure policy-making

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A small but growing number of highly qualified women hold policy-making positions in the United Nations Secretariat. The author of this article, Lisa Sergio, says that further progress can be made by merely by increasing the opportunities for training open to women in each country and by keeping a watch on vacancies in the various departments of U.N.O.

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posts themselves in order to share the power and responsibility to make or prevent war and to chart the course ahead. In the last four years, while progress has not been spectacular, it has been encouraging as well as indicative of how much more women can do along these lines and of how to do it.

NEW PROBLEMS

The United Nations, as a young organism is facing a number of new and unprecedented problems in establishing its own staff. Changes and revisions involving the opening up of new positions and the elimination or othering that have failed to prove their utility are occurring all the time. Statistics concerning the appointment and employment of Women are therefore bound to be

(Continued on page 11 col. 1)

LEAD KINDLY LIGHT

Gandhiji The Man of Action

by

SHANKERRAO DEO

GANDHIJI was essentially a man of God and he believed that the goal of human life was to realize God, the creator. In the introduction to his Autobiography he

the greatest imperial power in the world. Leading this revolution was a part of his *tapas* for the attainment of God-hood, and it was the direct result of his love for mankind. Through the Love of His

HAS GANDHISM FAILED?

SOME people have asked me if the failure of our national policy is not the failure of Gandhism, since it was under Gandhiji's leadership that the nation achieved its freedom and it was the party built by him that has since ruled its destiny. My

whole. In the Gita it is written that the knowledge that is confined to one single effect as if it were the whole is imperfect. It is of the nature of ignorance.

tle to do with politics and that constructive workers should remain aloof from politics. Such views not only make Gandhiji's programme and philosophy of life narrow and partial but miss the whole change

Acharya Kripalani, one of the ablest interpreters of Gandhism, says in this article that the "failure of our national policy is not the failure of Gandhism, for the simple reason that though the nation has

that their philosophy is meant to destroy this contradiction. I am not going into the question of whether the Marxists have succeeded in ridding society of its contradictions. But taking their word for it, I will indicate how this has been

fact. If you kept the portals of your heart open, he would enter it and abide there. Then slowly and unconsciously all your thoughts and actions would come to be tested on the touch-stone of his approval. He would then no longer be a leader; a great man; not a father nor a father confessor; but something higher and yet nearer—the divine element in your little life, warming, inspiring, uplifting you. And once you belonged to him, you were his.

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Since then, he entered our life; my wife and mine. He took interest in every small detail of our life. This was the greatest of all his gifts; he was very devoted. Each of us had a place reserved for him in his

This snap of Gandhiji on his way to the prayer meeting at Birla House was taken a few days before his martyrdom

HAS GANDHISM FAILED?

BY
Acharya J. B. Kripalani

SOME people have asked me if the failure of our national policy is not the failure of Gandhism, since it was under Gandhiji's leadership that the nation achieved its freedom and it was the party built by him that has since ruled its destiny. My reply is that Gandhism has not failed for the simple reason that it has never been tried. It has never been put into practice except in so far as it was lived by its author. The nation has praised it, sworn by it but never practised it and its scattered fragments which have had little more than a symbolic value. Except for a few individuals the great majority of Gandhiji's followers accepted his philosophy and even made an attempt to practise it only to the extent to which it was necessary to ensure his leadership of the political struggle.

If then we are to find the causes of our failure we must analyse the present political situation. We are all supposed to have been Gandhiji's followers. We called him the Father of the Nation, did we must admit that we have not been able to carry out his plans for the good of the nation. Why we have not even started turning the nation's effort towards a direction or for that matter towards any objectives which has it not been possible for us to continue good work he began? I suggest that we called mainly because we took only a small part of Gandhiji's philosophy and tried to work it out as though it were the whole. In the Gita it is written that the knowledge that is confined to one single effect as if it were the whole is imperfect. It is of the nature of ignorance.

SYNTHETIC WHOLE

The politician consciously or unconsciously thought that the struggle for freedom from foreign yoke was the whole of Gandhism and that Swaraj would be a complete affair. He missed the significance of philosophy. That philosophy is one synthetic whole which when followed in its entire life, individual and collective, private and public, national and international.

I have taken the example of politicians, I shall now take the example of what are known as constructive workers. The politicians' exclusive emphasis on the removal of foreign rule on constructive workers' practically exclusive emphasis upon 'constructive work' as an end in itself and logically. They often said that constructive work had it's own importance and was not to be subordinated to politics. They ignored the fact that constructive work was to be done in the spirit of non-violence and truth. Constructive workers should remain aloof from politics. Such views do not only make Gandhiji's programme and philosophy of life narrow and partial but miss the whole significance of his revolutionary change he sought to bring about.

Many good spiritual people, while Bapu was living, told him that he was a great man and as such he must not soil his clothes by entering the muddy field of practical politics. Gandhiji always replied that while it was true that his goal was spiritual realization, this view of self-realization included every activity of life. It did this by showing how we should conduct himself with every human being. As one so identifies oneself does with progressively realize himself in

Amrita Bazar Patrika
1-10-49

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Here, we believe, is the great secret of Mahatmaji's life and teaching. He insisted on the importance of the villages because he was convinced that these rural units symbolised India. His penetrating vision travelled back to the dim past and caught a flicker of ancient light. He saw the founding fathers of Indian civilisation seated in their cottages; he saw them chanting hymns, dreaming dreams of eternity, and at the same time laying down rules of political and social conduct. The roots of our civilisation lie in the forests; the *Aranyakas* express our most fruitful creative efforts. Gandhiji was, however, no mere revivalist. He discarded the past without mercy when it did not satisfy modern needs. Look, for instance, at his attitude towards the caste system. He believed it lowered the moral stature of man and served as a disintegrating factor in our social relations. So he set aside the injunctions of the *Sastras* and evolved for himself and his country a new social code. But he knew that there were elements in our ancient thought and traditional socio-economic organisation which had survived the shocks of ages and thereby proved their enduring value. These elements he was anxious to preserve and to strengthen. In this land of cataclysmic political changes the people did not lose themselves; waves of foreign invasions could not submerge the villages. The ancient civilisations of Egypt, of Babylonia, of Assyria, of Persia could not survive similar shocks. Their triumphs are buried under the earth; the archaeologist's spade is now bringing them back to our notice. In India, however, we have a living civilisation, a culture still pulsating with live, moral values easily applicable to the problems of modern industrial civilisation. The foundations were so well and truly laid by the ancient sages that the modern builder could easily build upon them. The supreme architect of our national greatness wanted to utilise the past instead of glorifying the uncongenial exotic.

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HINDUSTHAN STANDARD

AN INDEPENDENT ORGAN OF INDIAN NATIONALISM.

CALCUTTA, THE 1ST OCT. 1949.

OCTOBER 2

FROM time to time, when human affairs miscarry, there arise in our midst inspired beings who renew the face of the globe by their message and activity. Such a one was born in India on October 2, eighty-one years ago. Mahatma Gandhi whose birth was necessitated by the exigencies of this age represented in himself a challenge to the age. He was a prophet of culture, a spearhead of civilisation in its onward march against the forces of darkness. He was an anticipation of the future course of evolution. He represented a living challenge to the materialism of this era. He proclaimed a law different from the law of the jungle. In human conflicts he tried to replace the use of force by love and non-violence. In a world full of falsehoods he stood for truth. He stood for a higher level of existence for mankind based on simplicity, truth, love and non-violence.

The greatest factor working for human progress, Gandhiji believed, was co-operation and mutual aid and not conflict. This is a fundamental difference between Gandhism and Marxism which is based on the belief that all historical progress is the result of conflict. In every sphere of life Gandhiji wanted to stress the factor of co-operation, and not conflict. In production and distribution, in politics and other spheres of social life, he stood for co-operation between those forces which usually oppose one another and whose quarrels and conflicts result in harm to the cause of all the groups and classes concerned. The superiority of Gandhian method of co-operation will be evident if one remembers that human life itself begins in co-operation and that the race would die out if the parents chose not to co-operate with the new-born child. All modern sociologists who have analysed social progress have held that the growth of knowledge and the expansion of social organisation, the two basic factors in human progress, are the results of human co-operation in time and space. Their researches thus support the Gandhian philosophy of co-operation and bear out the soundness of his wisdom and message. Gandhiji stands out, therefore, as a great historical figure who tried to teach mankind the conscious control of their evolution by learning its true laws. Not that Gandhiji did not believe in the necessity of conflicts; He believed that conflicts too had a role to play in history. But he held that human conflicts must be carried on with moral weapons and not with the violent methods of the brute. For violence is self-stultifying. It creates more problems than it solves. Bad means can never lead to the achievement of good ends for the means enter into the ends themselves. Moreover, as violence aims at the suppression and destruction of opposition, true democracy can never be based on violence. In fact, democracy and violence are inherently opposed to each other.

The Gandhian ideology thus stands opposed to the Communist ideology which is based mainly on the belief in conflicts and violent conflicts at that, and which holds that ends justify all means. Gandhism aims at using love to convert the opponent. Communism aims at using hatred as the only lever to change the social order. Apart from other countries the widespread harm that is being caused in India by this doctrine of Communism is now evident to every lover of freedom and democracy. The booklet entitled the *Communist Violence in India*, which has been just published by the Government of India, illustrates the perverted beliefs and the anti-social modus operandi of the Indian adherents of this obnoxious doctrine. It illustrates how the Communists create and propagate hatred, exploit the credulity of simpler people, encourage and resort to destruction of property and murder to gain their nefarious ends. Day in and day out the Communists in India have been spouting venom against the National Government, instilling hatred into the minds of people, openly asking people to kill men in high positions and obviously training the party members in subversive activities. For already a large number of cases of sabotage organized by them or under their influence have taken

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his unflinching guidance through years of unprecedented storm and stress this ancient land fought for freedom with non-violent weapons. On August 15, 1947, the seemingly unending journey was over at last; the soul-killing yoke of exploiting Imperialism was set aside, and 400 millions emerged into the light and warmth of freedom. But Gandhiji was not satisfied. Two weeks after the achievement of freedom he wrote: "In the scheme of reconstruction for free India its villages should no longer depend, as they are now doing, on its cities, but cities should exist only for and in the interest of the villages". A few hours before his death he wrote: "India has still to attain social, moral and economic independence in terms of its 700,000 villages as distinguished from its cities and towns". For him freedom meant the restoration of that rural civilisation which has saved India's soul and defied political changes. Had his life been spared for a few years more he would have tried to divert the stream of our national thought to rural channels.

Here, we believe, is the great secret of Mahatmaji's life and teaching. He insisted on the importance of the villages because he was convinced that these rural units symbolised India. His penetrating vision travelled back to the dim past and caught a flicker of ancient light. He saw the founding fathers of Indian civilisation seated in their cottages: he saw them chanting hymns, dreaming dreams of eternity, and at the same time laying down rules of political and social conduct. The roots of our civilisation lie in the forests: the *Aranyakas* express our deepest thoughts and guide our most fruitful creative efforts. Gandhiji was, however, no mere revivalist. He discarded the past without mercy when it did not satisfy modern needs. Look, for instance, at his attitude towards the caste system. He believed it lowered the moral stature of man and served as a disintegrating factor in our social relations. So he set aside the injunctions of the *Sastras* and evolved for himself and his country a new social code. But he knew that there were elements in our ancient thought and traditional socio-economic organisation which had survived the shocks of ages and thereby proved their enduring value. These elements he was anxious to preserve and to strengthen. In this land of cataclysmic political changes the people did not lose themselves: waves of foreign invasions could not submerge the villages. The ancient civilisations of Egypt, of Babylonia, of Assyria, of Persia could not survive similar shocks. Their triumphs are buried under the earth; the archaeologist's spade is now bringing them back to our notice. In India, however, we have a living civilisation, a culture still pulsating with life, moral values easily applicable to the problems of modern industrial civilisation. The foundations were so well and truly laid by the ancient sages that the modern builder could easily build upon them. The supreme architect of our national greatness wanted to utilise the past instead of glorifying the unCongenial exotic.

Gandhiji was, in a sense, a traditionalist; but his appreciation of the value of traditions was coloured by intensely human feelings. His softness for villages was in a large measure due to his weakness for the humble, the down-trodden and the helpless. Cities symbolise power and prosperity: villages stand for weakness and poverty. Politicians who want power entrench themselves in cities. True servants of the people waste themselves away in villages. Gandhiji, the truest servant of the people, could not forget the sufferings of the villagers. He wanted to concentrate on them all our political efforts. He wanted to make the village the base of the pyramid of State. His deep understanding of the genius of our civilisation and his unaffected love for his fellow men led him to discover in the forgotten villages the eternal source of our national strength. In his scheme of things the humblest man had a part to play; but how could the humblest man play his part in the dazzling city where everything was alien to him? A nation of four hundred millions could not be made great by the isolated efforts of a few thousands. The spirit of high adventure must inspire the nation as a whole: every one must put his shoulder to the plough. That was Gandhiji's conception of democracy, and he was doubtless the greatest democrat of his age.

Gandhiji's concern for the common man transformed the Congress into a truly national organisation. For 35 years the Congress was dominated by Victorian Liberalism and Victorian eloquence. The great leaders of those days were men of sturdy patriotism, but their efforts were coloured and limited by the parochial thoughts and lifeless conventions of the age in which they lived and fought. For the first time in India's modern history Gandhiji transcended the boundaries of space

HINDUSTHAN STANDARD

AN INDEPENDENT ORGAN OF INDIAN NATIONALISM.

CALCUTTA, THE 1ST OCT. 1949.

OCTOBER 2

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October 2, therefore, is an occasion for every lover of freedom in the country to renew his faith in Gandhism and to abjure the false doctrine of Communism which is sure to lead the country to slavery. In fact, the world is to-day at a cross-roads of history where the choice between Communism and Gandhism has become inevitable. On this sacred birth-anniversary of the Apostle of Peace, we hope, lovers of freedom and peace all over the world will turn their thoughts to Gandhism and strengthen their resolve to adhere to the path of non-violence and love to which the Great Mahatma called mankind. The Gandhian way is not only the way to freedom and peace it is also the only way to survival in this atomic age.

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Bharat Jyoti

BOMBAY, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1949

IMMORTAL BAPU

TODAY IS GANDHI JAYANTI, the birthday of Bapu.

It is a day of national rejoicing and thanksgiving.

Rejoicing, because India is fortunate to count Bapu among her great sons.

Thanksgiving, for all that Bapu achieved for India.

Bapu belongs to the world, to humanity.

His Message is universal in its application.

Yet, Bapu was proud to be Indian, to belong to India, to serve India and to serve the world through India.

Bapu declined invitations to visit the United States.

He declared : my place is in India.

Celebrating GANDHI JAYANTI, let us pray, that we may prove worthy of Bapu.

"Bapu,"—Father, as Gandhiji was called, both with reverence and love, is IMMORTAL.

That is, he lives, though he has cast away his mortal frame.

That LIFE knows no end; it is boundless; it is eternal and everlasting.

He is the torchbearer, to all earnest seekers after Truth.

Like Rama, Krishna, Christ, Bapu will illuminate, guide and guard those, who seek his help.

To others, Bapu will be just a historic and a legendary figure.

Bapu will escape no more than Rama, Krishna or Christ, that churches, creeds and castes grow around him, while his principles are honoured more in the breach, than in their observance.

Two world wars have been fought, lost and won, on a global scale.

Nations of the world labour through the United Nations, the Atlantic Pact, the Atom Bombs, to preserve world peace.

The only way to preserve peace is the way of Christ and Bapu.

Christ has churches, creeds and castes, who worship Him, but the Christian World is unanimous in rejecting Christ's Way to preserve world peace.

"Bapu" will meet with no greater success, than Christ.

"Bapu" cast his mortal frame, through assassination.

Death, however, did not come to him, until he willed it.

He had the vision to see that his life's mission was ended.

The mission was both a success and a failure.

Success did not come to Bapu in the way, that he wanted it.

Bapu would have lived full one hundred twenty-five years, if success had come to him, in the way that he wanted it.

To Bapu, success was mixed with grievous failure.

Bapu believed in a MORAL GOVERNMENT, of the Universe.

He accepted the mixture of success and failure, that attended his labours, as GOD'S WILL.

He submitted to the DIVINE WILL; his cup of humiliation was full; he wished his release from the bondage of the body.

He died, as he wished it; he died a martyr's death, preaching LOVE and UNITY, on the prayer ground, at the hour of prayer.

Bapu did not die; he cast his mortal frame; he is with the DIVINE FATHER, awaiting the next call, to be born again on earth, when humanity needs him most again.

That is the truth about Bapu; that is the truth about every world teacher.

THE HOUR YIELDETH THE MAN TO BEAR ALOFT THE TORCH AND ILLUMINATE THE HUMAN LIGHT.

TODAY, FREE INDIA PAYS HOMAGE TO BAPU !

May that homage help FREE INDIA to make an effort, to walk in Bapu's footsteps.

Bapu made Sabarmati Ashram his headquarters.

Sabermati Ashram is a sanctified ground.

Not many, however, know the tradition attached to that location.

Near the Sabarmati Ashram, there is a small landmark, a Hindu shrine.

It commemorates the great sacrifice of Sage Dadichi.

Indra, the Lord of Devas,—forces of right, was waging a losing battle with the Asuras, forces of evil.

Indra prayed for succour; his weapons were no match to the superior weapons of the Asuras.

Indra was advised to beg Sage Dadichi to offer his bones for the making of invulnerable weapons.

Indra approached Sage Dadichi; his prayer was granted.

Sage Dadichi laid down his mortal frame to enable Indra to use his bones for the making of weapons.

Indra fought with the new weapons and won the battle against the Asuras.

It was a great sacrifice that Sage Dadichi made; Indra knew it only too well.

Sage Dadichi, however, did not think so; he was glad to be of service in a good cause; he felt honoured to be chosen for sacrifice and service.

Bapu's approach to Life was that of Sage Dadichi.

Bapu was Mahatma,—a Great Soul, to the world

To himself, Bapu was a servant of the servants of God.

And Daridranarayan, suffering humanity was GOD to him.

IMMORTAL BAPU ABIDES WITH THOSE WHO ABIDE IN HIM!

74

BHARAT

Sunday, October 2, 1949

RE-DEDICATE

GANDHI JAYANTI is to India an admonition as well as an occasion for thanksgiving. It serves to remind us of the deep debt of gratitude we owe to him who more than any other son of the soil lifted us from the slough of despond and showed us the way to progress, social and spiritual no less than political and economic. It is also a call from the far beyond, from our *Pithaji*, a call to adhere to the straight and narrow path of rectitude alike in national and personal affairs. Let not our adulation ring hollow; instead, let the commemoration be sincere and purposeful. It would indeed be a cruel mockery of the apostle of truth if with his name on our lips we speak and act with mental reservation. If we really deserve the many boons that the Mahatma earned for us and if we are genuinely grateful to him for all that he did for us, it behoves us on this sacred occasion to re-dedicate ourselves, each one of us, to his manifold precept-examples conceived in virtue and goodness and implemented through the rigorously disciplined conduct of a lifetime.

It is manifestly impossible to list the numerous principles of life which a realised soul preached and practised; nor is it easy for lesser men to emulate in each individual the many facets of the Gandhian way of life. It is nevertheless open to every Indian—nay, it is a debt of duty which we must gratefully and cheerfully repay to him—to choose any of the manifestations of the Mahatmic spirit and honestly endeavour to put it into practice in one's own daily life; for "they also serve who stand and wait." Above all, it is necessary that we, who fondly claim to be legatees of the glory that was the Mahatma's life, grasp the eternal principles of love and truth for which he lived and died and endeavour to measure our thoughts, words and deeds by the standards he has set for us. Whatever be one's vocation, profit if not merit will accrue by steadfastly clinging to the code of conduct which Gandhiji prescribed for himself in his dealings with his fellowmen as well as with empires and institutions. Countless are the boons which this great leader of men has conferred upon us, but the greatest of them all is the unfailing example of his own life lived in love, truth [illegible] humility, prayer [illegible] service.

When Gandhiji was physically in our midst we often ran to him for inspiration and guidance. He is no more with us. But he has left his hallowed spirit in our custody. If we cherish it as worthy heirs, it will never fail to guide us along the right path. That spirit beckons us to the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. Let us constantly remember his teachings in public as well as private life —that there is a higher purpose than self-interest, that power and pelf are but instruments of social service, that rights and privileges carry with them duties and responsibilities, that humility is the highest expression of culture, that the ruler is the first servant of the people.... Without reducing Gandhism to a cult, which Gandhiji himself abhorred, let each of us ask himself or herself whether our actions are worthy of the object of our veneration.

2-10-49

The Sunday News of India

SECOND OCTOBER, 1949.

THOUGHTS ON A BIRTHDAY

TIME passes, and perhaps there is a tendency to forget Gandhiji as a man, and to make of him a legend. The manner of his passing, the universal mourning, the dramatic circumstances of his cremation, have all conspired to make him less personal as a memory. This may be inevitable with one who is a great national figure, but it is to be deplored, and the occasion of his birthday might well be dedicated annually to keeping warm the remembrance of him as a person. India has legends in plenty: what she needs is a human leader whose example provides inspiration and whose life shows the practice of those qualities his countrymen hold admirable—single-mindedness and tenacity of purpose, sincerity, austerity of life displaying the ascetic quality of the ancient seers, moral conviction.

Pride in him as the Father of the Nation should not blind his compatriots to the obligations assumed by them in adopting as a national heritage the principles of a man whose calibre few men can equal, for that acceptance lays upon them the heavy responsibility of living up to the standard he set, a standard of great ideals, laying the foundations of a national awareness of the needs of the poor and the outcaste, and of their claims to consideration and to equality of opportunity. He impressed upon others the urgency of the task of educating the illiterate millions of India and guiding them to a better way of life, and in his use of the spinning-wheel offered a challenge to industrialism, ennobling the idea of manual work so that nobody need feel it to be derogatory. The *charka* does not solve problems, but is a symbol constantly reminding us of the necessity for self-help, for the encouragement of cottage industries, for the right use of leisure and for the dignity of labour. The method of non-violent action devised and consistently practised by him may yet save the world from the self-destruction on which it seems determined. He put a weapon into the hands of the people which even the weakest can use, though too often it has been employed in a manner he would have condemned. Yet should India lead the world to peace, it will be largely due to his inspiration.

The simplicity of his personal life sets an example of moderation in the use of food which is much needed today, as are also his warm human sympathies, his kindliness, patience and the time he could spare for the humble. Many biographies have already been written about him, but we must not lose sight of the man and his message in the multiplicity of the things said therein. There is need for his teaching, already in danger of being forgotten, already misinterpreted or ignored by some who professed to be his followers. In his whole-hearted devotion of life to the service of others with no regard for personal comfort or convenience he made the good of the nation, the liberation of his own people and of any others who needed his help, his prime concerns. He was, in the truest sense of the phrase, the servant of the public, giving himself up to their service in a dedication which is well expressed in one of his own prayers, quoted by Mary Barr in *Bapu* (International Book House. Rs. 2-12).

"Lord of humility, dwelling in the little pariah hut, help us to search for Thee throughout that fair land watered by the Ganges, Brahmaputra and Jumna. Give us receptiveness, give us open-heartedness, give us Thy humility, give us the ability and willingness to identify ourselves with the mass of India.

"O God, who does help only when man feels utterly humble, grant that we may not be isolated from the people we would serve as servants and friends. Let us be embodiments of godliness, humility personified, that we may know the land better and love it more."

2-10-49

Gems From Gandhiji

MAHATMA GANDHI was a great lover of humanity and abhorred wars, violence and hatred. In a famous article, he appealed to the world to abjure wars, because violence and cruelty are unworthy of man. He pleaded that mankind should submit to higher moral laws and not to brute force.

Below are given a few extracts from Gandhiji's immmerable utterances, covering some of the important aspects of man's life, moral and material:—

* * *

DOCTRINE OF THE SWORD

I do believe that, where there is only choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence. But I believe that non-violence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment. Forgiveness adorns a soldier. But abstinence is forgiveness only when there is the power to punish; it is meaningless when it pretends to proceed from a helpless creature.

* * *

ON BOLSHEVISM

"I am yet ignorant of what exactly Bolshevism is. I have not been able to study it. I do not know whether it is for the good of Russia in the long run. But I do know that in so far as it is based on violence and denial of God, it repels me. I do not believe in short-violent-cuts to success. Those Bolshevik friends who are bestowing their attention on me should realise that, however much I may sympathise with and admire worthy motives, I am an uncompromising opponent of violent methods even to serve the noblest of causes.

* * *

EUROPEAN CIVILISATION

That the sum total of the activities of European nations is a denial of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount will not, I think, be gainsaid.

May it be the privilege of India to take part in the new awakening and to advance it, instead of retarding it, by succumbing to the European excesses which the best mind of Europe condemns in unmeasured terms and is manifestly struggling to bring under effective control.

* * *

GOD IS ONE

God is certainly one. He has no second. He is unfathomable, unknowable and unknown to the vast majority of mankind. He is everywhere. He sees without eyes, and hears without ears. He is the formless and indivisible. He is uncreated, has no father, mother or child, and yet He allows Himself to be worshipped as father, mother, wife and child. He allows Himself even to be worshipped as stock and stone, although He is none of these things. He is the most elusive. He is the nearest to us if we would but know the fact. But He is farthest from us when we do not want to realise His omnipresence. There are many gods in the *Vedas*. Other scriptures call them angels. But the *Vedas* sing of only one God.

* * *

ONENESS OF RELIGIONS

The soul of religions is one, but it is encased in a multitude of forms. The latter will persist to the end of time. Wise men will ignore the outward crust and see the same soul living under a variety of crusts. For the Hindus to expect Islam, Christianity or Zoroastrianism to be driven out of India is as idle a dream as it would be for the Mussalmans to have only Islam of their imagination rule the world. But if belief in One God and the race of His Prophets in a never-ending chain is sufficient for Islam, then we are all Mussalmans, but we are also Hindus and Christians. Truth is the exclusive property of no single scripture.

* * *

HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

The union that we want is not a patched up thing but a union of hearts based upon a definite recognition of the indubitable proposition that Swaraj for India must be an impossible dream without an indissoluble union between the Hindus and the Muslims of India. It must not be a mere truce. It cannot be based upon mutual fear. It must be a partnership between equals each respecting the religion of the other.

* * *

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Civil disobedience is not absolutely necessary to win freedom through purely non-violent efforts, if the co-operation of the whole nation is secured in the constructive programme.....My handling of civil disobedience without constructive programme will be like a paralysed hand attempting to lift a spoon.

* * *

SWADESHI

Swadeshi is the law of laws enjoined by the present age. Spiritual laws like Nature's laws need no enacting; they are self-acting. But through ignorance or other causes man often neglects or disobeys them. It is then that vows are needed to steady his course. A man who is by temperament a vegetarian needs no vow to strengthen his vegetarianism. The law of Swadeshi is ingrained in the basic nature of man, but it has today sunk into oblivion.

Hence the necessity for the vow of Swadeshi. In its ultimate and spiritual sense, Swadeshi stands for the final emancipation of the soul from her earthly bondage. For this earthly tabernacle is not her natural or permanent abode: it is a hindrance in her onward journey: it stands in the way of her realising her oneness with all life. A votary of Swadeshi, therefore, in his striving to identify himself with the entire creation, seeks to be emancipated from the bondage of the physical body.

* * *

WARDHA SCHEME

We do not want to cut adrift from the whole world. We will have a free interchange with all nations, but the present forced interchange has to go. We do not want to be exploited, neither do we want to exploit any other nation. Through the scheme we look forward to making all children producers, and so to change the face of the whole of our social being.

* * *

PROHIBITION

When Swaraj is attained, among the first measures of such Government must be prohibition of foreign cloth and drinks and drugs. One impoverishes the nation, the other destroys the very soul.

PATEL'S GANDHI JAYANTI MESSAGE

Continued from page 1 col. 2

co-operate in production. In India there was the paradox that while prices were rising, production did not keep pace with them.

P.T.I. adds:

Pandit Nehru said that India now counted in the councils of the world because of Mahatma Gandhi, "whose message not only helped us win our political freedom but still inspires his countrymen and the world to greater and greater endeavour in the service of humanity."

Pandit Nehru referred to the economic situation in the country and said: "The key to the solution of our economic difficulties lies in the solution of the problem of food. Our endeavour should be to produce more and waste less food."

Expressing satisfaction over the progress made by the country in her drive for self-sufficiency, the Prime Minister warned against any feeling of complacency. "I am in favour of advancing the target date fixed for self-sufficiency. We are determined to import less food next year and this is sure to save us crores of rupees we so badly need for rebuilding our nation."

The Prime Minister, replying to criticism of the Government's decision to devalue the rupee in terms of the dollar, said that there was no other alternative for India but to fall in line with 24 other countries which had taken a similar decision. There was no reason, he added, why prices of goods, excepting American goods, should rise. He however, felt that the evil effects of changes in world currencies could be avoided "by ourselves producing the necessities of life, particularly food."

Spirit Of Service

Pandit Nehru said that in four days' time he would be leaving the shores of India on a visit to America. He was not sure what message other than that of Mahatma Gandhi he could carry to the people of the U.S.A. A more effective message, he said, would be the narration of India's achievements resulting from following in the footsteps of Gandhiji.

He said: "Like Gandhiji we should believe in action. Silent, solid work is what enabled us to create awakening among the masses in the rural areas and finally to achieve our freedom. It is the same spirit of service and sacrifice that should guide us and give us strength to overcome our problems and thereby continue to remain free."

The Prime Minister said that everyone in the country, whether cultivator, industrialist or student, would have to act in fullest co-operation with the Government in solving various problems. "The old habit of sitting tight and helplessly looking to the Government for the resolution of our difficulties must be given up."

Pandit Nehru visualized a great future for India after a period of five to ten years. "I am convinced of the soundness of the economic condition of our country. All that we have to do is to exploit its vast hidden resources for the benefit of our toiling masses."

Aimless Criticism

He criticized the habit among a section of the people of aimless criticism born out of ulterior motives. "If everyone of us were to mind his own business and act more and talk less, the pace of the country's progress would quicken."

The Prime Minister said: "We should adopt the best possible method which can help us achieve our objective of economic self-sufficiency and should not attach much importance to one or the other "ism." In case we fail in our present economic policy, we should switch over to one which is better and more effective."

Referring to the problem of rehabilitation, Pandit Nehru said the Government were effecting drastic cuts in the expenditure of the Ministries and top priority had been given to expenditure on refugees in the Rehabilitation Ministry.

Evacuee Property.

The Government had decided to convert refugee camps into work centres and build townships. "The speed with which we want to accomplish all this is hampered due to lack of funds. It is however, proposed to set up a committee of elders—not of officials—who will review the whole work of relief and rehabilitation and advise on priority of expenditure."

As to the question of evacuee property, the Prime Minister said the Government was giving its best consideration to evolving a law which would both help solve the problem and minimize injustice or harshness to any community or individual. He urged refugee leaders to do more constructive work than pass resolutions making undue demands on the Government.

Pandit Nehru said there were two paths open to India and the world. One was the path of violence as symbolized by the atom bomb and the other was the Gandhian path of unity, love and co-operation.

He called upon all Indians to give up ideas of domination of one community over another. "If we do not do that our country will become weak and we all will suffer."

Prasad's Speech

Others who addressed the meeting were Dr Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, and Mr A.S.Ai, the Governor of Orissa.

Dr Prasad said that the knotty problems of the "war-ravaged" world could be solved in no time if all countries understood and followed the "new path" shown by Gandhiji.

Dr Prasad said: "Gandhiji's birthday should be a day of heart-searching for every Indian. On this auspicious day we all should weigh ourselves in the scales of Gandhiji's teachings and thus find out how far we drifted during the outgoing year from the path shown by him."

Dr Prasad said India was now high up in the eyes of the world not because she had achieved political independence but because she had given birth to one of world's greatest men.

The best message that India could give to distracted humanity was, Dr Prasad said, to translate into action Gandhiji's teachings and philosophy. "How can we claim to guide others with the light shown by Gandhiji if we ourselves grope in the dark?"

Dr Prasad was confident that the people of India would never forget their "dear Bapu." They might stagger for a moment but they were bound to come to their own again.

Mr Asaf Ali said that the salvation of India lay in her every national creating the country as a large family with her earth as its inexhaustible wealth. "Only by cultivating love and a sense of fairness for each other can our failures turn into successes and our dreams become realities."

Mr Asaf Ali said there was no cause for alarm over the problems facing the country. India's economy was essentially sound. The need of the hour was exploitation of her resources through co-operation and hard work.

Patel's Message

Sardar Patel, who was unable to be present, in a message read out at the meeting, said: "If we remind ourselves of Gandhiji's principles, which we have forgotten, and come back to the right path, we shall have found the true method of remembering him."

The message added: "It is about two years ago that Gandhiji made the supreme sacrifice of his life for the sake of his cause and the principles he stood for. At the time of his death there was a sort of national awakening and all of us fully experienced how necessary Gandhiji's life was for us and for the nation, but alas, we were under the spell of that awakening only for a short time. We again gradually slid into the same rut of errors in which we were before he died.

"Today, people take his name in all sorts of ways. Some of us remember him when we are in difficulties and feel that, if he were alive today, his guidance and advice would have been at our disposal. Some of us seek to conceal our weaknesses under the shelter of his name. Some there are who exploit for their own ends the weapons which he placed in our hands. They either start or threaten to start fasting for the least thing. If there is any difference between them and the Government, they enact the fraud of satyagraha or 'direct action.' All this brings no credit to them who should feel proud of the fact that in their own life-time they could obtain from Gandhiji himself instructions in the principles for which he stood and could seek lessons from him in the practice of those principles; nor does it befit us that we should perpetuate Gandhiji's memory in such a manner.

"Gandhiji always placed before us the ideal of self-sufficiency. He did so in two forms, viz., that we should produce our own needs in food and cloth. If we had acted on this advice even to the extent of 50 per cent, we would never have got ourselves involved in the present economic troubles. For the last two years, I have been emphasizing the necessity of acting on these principles. I have also been drawing your attention to the dangers through which we were passing and are passing today, but I am sorry that ultimately we have reached a stage when we are up against very serious difficulties on account of deficiency in these two articles. If, in order to please Gandhiji while he was with us, we acted on the principles which he placed before us, it was not a matter for self-congratulation or of conferring obligation on anybody. Yes, the real test was if, after his death, we could have kept alight the torch that he handed over to us and fully benefitted from the guidance which he gave us

The Right Path

"Gandhiji, in his own life-time, had shown the way to solve so many difficulties that, if we had sought instruction from his very life's history, it would have sufficed for our purpose. It is true that his inspiring, presence would have meant a great deal more to us. Even then if we had steadfastly followed the path which he chalked out before us we could have carried on, but we have been shifting our position and are finding it difficult even to retrace our steps. Look at the constructive programme which he placed before us. How many items of that programme we used to follow with avidity under his eye, but now the poor constructive workers go about completely lost. If, on the auspicious occasion of his birthday, we reflect on these things and remind ourselves of his principles, which we have forgotten, and come back to the right path, we shall have found the true method of remembering Gandhiji.

"I am sorry to say due to my health, I could not participate in your meeting. Gandhiji himself was departed from this world, but he has left me in a condition in which I cannot apply myself to help in carrying on the great work which he left unfinished. I cannot describe to you how much sorrow I feel on this account. I only pray to God that he will gloss over my shortcomings and weaknesses, will save us from the troubles and tribulations in which we find ourselves and will assist us in deserving Gandhiji's memory so that the world at large might say that we are the people amongst whom such a great soul as Gandhiji was born and that we are entitled to take pride in the achievements of that great soul. Jai Hind."

At Other Places

Mr Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister, presided over the Jayanti celebrations at the Talkatora Sweepers' Colony. After being shown round the colony and listening to the complaints and suggestions of the inmates, he addressed them on the need for taking more interest in their homes and saving money for the purpose instead of wasting it on unprofitable practices.

He said the sweepers played a vital role in present-day society and unless they realized the importance of their position and built up their own strength, they would continue to be oppressed by society.

The Minister distributed prizes to women and children.

Gandhi Jayanti was also observed at the Children's Home with spinning and a lecture on the life and work of Gandhiji; at the Delhi Tamil Sngham with devotional music and spinning at New Delhi Y.M.C.A. with the opening of an adult education class, and at numerous other clubs and associations in the Capital.

Hindustan Times 3-10-49.

NEHRU VISUALIZES GREAT FUTURE FOR INDIA

Faith In Gandhiji's Teachings Reaffirmed

CONCLUSION OF JAYANTI CELEBRATIONS

Special Prayer Ceremony At Rajghat

(By Our Special Correspondent)

NEW DELHI, Sunday.—Gandhi Jayanti Fortnight in Delhi marking the 80th birthday of the Father of the Nation culminated this evening at a huge public meeting at Queen's Gardens at which the Prime Minister gave a frank exposition of his Government's policy in various fields and invited the co-operation of all classes of people in fighting and overcoming the difficulties before them.

The celebrations today commenced with a special prayer ceremony at Rajghat which was attended by about 5,000 people. The Prime Minister and Gen. Cariappa were among the crowds who from early morning reverentially filed past the 'samadhi' to present their offerings of flowers and rededicate themselves to the ideals of Gandhiji. A member of the Kashmir Trade Commissioner's Office laid a wreath specially sent by Sheikh Abdullah on behalf of the people of the State.

At the prayer ceremony, which began at 8 a.m., Pandit Nehru, Mr N. V. Gadgil and local Congress leaders sat among the huge crowd, chanting Gandhiji's favourite prayers and devotional songs. The Prime Minister also took part in the 40-minute session of congregational spinning which followed the prayers.

In a tent nearby the 81-hour non-stop spinning programme, which began on Thursday, was in progress. It ended in the evening. Among those spinning were Mr Mohan Lal Saksena, Minister for Rehabilitation, and Dr Yudhvir Singh, President of the Delhi Municipal Committee.

The Prime Minister in his speech at Queen's Gardens, among other topics, dealt with devaluation, the refugee problem with special reference to the evacuee property law, food, the need of stepping up industrial production and the economic crisis. Though conscious of all the problems and general criticism of the Government, he spoke about the future with sturdy optimism.

The next two or three years would be difficult. It was the period of transition, and with the rest of the world India would have to examine its economic and social set-up to see if it was effective enough to solve the country's problems. If it was no longer suited to the present-day needs, they would have to decide what changes they wanted in it.

The Prime Minister's references to Gandhiji were sober and restrained. While declaring that his faith in the basic teachings of Gandhiji was growing, he pointed out that the country had not kept to the path shown by him. That was why he would not be able to tell the peoples of countries he was to visit shortly that India, Gandhiji's India, had a message for them.

He, however, emphasized the fact that in the present situation in the world the only alternative to the way of the atom bomb was the way of peace shown by Gandhiji.

Explaining the decision about devaluation, Pandit Nehru said that they could get over the dollar shortage by cutting down imports. The value of the rupee in the country was the same, and there was no reason why there should be any devaluation.

As to food production, he expressed satisfaction at the progress made and indicated that they might be able to stop imports before the target date of 1951. He, of course, appealed to all to grow food in whatever manner possible and to co-operate in other ways to make the self-sufficiency drive a success.

Mentioning the economy drive, Pandit Nehru assured displaced persons that where they were concerned, no reductions in expenditure would be made. Refugee camps were being turned into work centres, the education of refugee children had been entrusted to the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, and townships were proposed to be built for the resettlement of refugees. The Government, at the same time, proposed to set up a committee of non-officials to review rehabilitation work and suggest ways to speed it up.

Pandit Nehru admitted that he had intervened in cases where the evacuee property law had resulted in injustice to some people. In 99 per cent of the cases, in which the property of evacuees had been taken over by the Custodian, there was no difficulty. But in cases of intending evacuees, there was possibility of injustice. The question of amending the law was under consideration and the Government's decision would be known soon.

Referring to industrialists and the trading community's dissatisfaction with the Government over the appointment of the Income-tax Inquiry Commission, the Prime Minister gave the assurance that the intention was not to harass anyone. At the same time it was essential that there should be a cleansing process so that trade and commerce could flourish in an atmosphere of honesty. Government could do everything in a State which was completely Communist. Otherwise everyone had to

Continued on back page col 3

THE
SEARCHLIGHT

ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS
THE PRICE OF LIBERTY

TUESDAY, OCTOBER. 4, 1949

OUR LEGACY

India has observed the Gandhi Jayanti week with respect and reverence due to the greatest national leader and the greatest man of his age. The occasion was well utilized to impress upon his countrymen, who are privileged to call him as their own, the great teachings and ideals he tried to place before this naughty world. To every village and hamlet of this vast country which owes much of what it is to-day has been carried the message of Gandhian principles to inculcate in the people the faith that has moved mountain and led them to the high destiny which is now theirs. They have been reminded of the duty and obligation to the Father of the Nation who lived and died so that they may live in the imperishable glory of the race.

Men who saw him and felt the warmth of his touch or the magic of his smile, or the inspiring note of his teachings, cannot afford to withhold the debt they owe him by honouring and implementing the soul-lifting tenets after his death, to which they swore allegiance in his life. For he has been the saviour of the nation which he rescued from the thraldom of centuries of foreign domination. The country has been asked to follow the path that leads to the attainment of glory greater than what has been already achieved under his dynamic leadership. The path is the principles of non-violence and truth, which acts like a beacon light to a distracted world groping in the encircling darkness. The Gandhian philosophy, which extends to economic, political, and moral spheres, and the philosophy of the Gita are the two richest heritage bequeathed to the mankind, which will endure and survive when every other thing has perished.

The Gandhian philosophy has been Mahatmaji's solution to the present-day problem of the mankind. It was first unfolded in Satyagrah on the South African soil to meet the insolence of a power-intoxicated ruling class in its relation to the weak and defenceless people among whom Mahatmaji's lot was cast. It was an experiment which revealed great possibilities. Since then it has emerged as a potent weapon for the helpless and weak, especially suited to meet the arrogance of the aggressor and challenge the power of the high and mighty. It has proved its effectiveness as a great political weapon forged on the anvil of spiritual fire, worthy of the men and heroes of Bharat who preached and scrupulously practised Dharam Yudh. It has a particular appeal to countries and nations that do not believe in Atom Bomb and have found themselves miles behind in the race of armament.

It is in the memory of such a saint and seer that America has decided to raise a memorial in its capital. This is a tribute to the Messiah of peace who worked more for humanity than for a particular country. It is a tribute to the ideals which has not only brought about independence of India but also promised a new era in the history of the world. It is a homage to the ideal of Ram Raj, which is the foundation and plinth of the United Nations Organisation. It is a homage to our ancient culture and traditions which Mahatmaji typified in his person and ideology. Shall we the direct inheritors of this magnificent conception of our forbearers prove unworthy of this glorious legacy?

Mahatmaji's philosophy is a sacred legacy particularly to our educated youngmen to whom an exhortation to dedicate and devote a year of the time to the constructive work in villages is appropriate. It is a call for a missionary zeal in a cause which can be peculiarly and most befittingly served by them. No great cause can advance without their service and sacrifice. Our own country furnishes but a too recent example. Christianity is served by nobody more than youngmen and young women who in their hundreds and thousands go forth every year in the wide world to spread the gospel and teachings of Christ. They come from great universities of Europe and embrace a life of penury and privation for the privilege of redeeming humanity in their own way. Is not this an inspiring example to Indian youths who should welcome the opportunity of carrying the torch which Mahatmaji kindled to the four corners of the globe?

Hindustan Times 5/10/49

GANDHI JAYANTI MEETINGS IN WORLD CAPITALS

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Mr J. J. Singh presided at a function organized for the occasion by the India League of America.

Mr Singh said that Mahatma Gandhi had a wonderful insight into the future. He had the vision to recognize the difficulties India would have to encounter not only during but after her struggle for emancipation. He so guided his countrymen from the very start that, when they won their victory, they found at that very moment that Gandhiji had laid a firm foundation for a great and secular State.

Mr Singh referred to the proposed $10 million Gandhi Memorial Foundation and the authorizing Bill signed by President Truman last month. Whether it takes the form of one memorial or two memorials, Mr Singh said, "it will be such as to make us proud of the work done by Americans in this country."

Mr Donald Harrington, Minister of the Community Church (where the meeting was held) said Mahatma Gandhi was "the greatest modern leader of mankind." His life was the very anti-thesis of strife and of the atom bomb. Gandhiji would have been proud indeed, Mr Harrington added, that a representative of India at the United Nations should try to get the atomic dispute transferred from the political field to the field of reason and law, as Mr B. N. Rau had done.

"But I am ashamed that the U.S. Government has turned down such a sensible suggestion," Mr Harrington said.

Mr B. Shiva Rao, a member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations, said: "Speaking for the delegates as a whole, I can say that we are moved by a whole-hearted desire to follow the principles of the Charter—the principles of Mahatma Gandhi." He said that history might well have taken an entirely different course if the British Government had listened to Mahatma Gandhi during the earlier stages of his resistance movement. World War II—even if it might not have been averted altogether—might have been less tragic than it actually was.

Similarly, a great opportunity was missed at the time of the inaugural meeting of the United Nations at San Francisco. Had the voice of a Gandhi or Nehru been heard on that occasion, India could have obtained the position of one of the "great Powers."

"If India had the authority and the prestige of a great Power, which she certainly deserved, the United Nations would have listened to India today." At the end of World War I, Mahatma Gandhi called upon India's youth to discard the weapon of the bomb and the pistol and replace it with the weapon of non-violence.

At the end of World War II, when the world was turning to the atom bomb, Mahatma Gandhi proved the efficacy of his method in India. Mr Rao hoped that the Foundation that was to be established for Mahatma Gandhi in America would represent the significance of Mahatma Gandhi's message and not merely be a memorial in plaster or marble.

Mrs Sucheta Kripalani said no leader in history could more aptly be described as the "Father of the Nation" than Mahatma Gandhi. She described how he pacified Eastern Bengal during a wave of communal violence and said Gandhiji's message of brotherhood and love found its supreme expression in Noakhali.

Mr Fischer, who is at present engaged in writing a biography of Mahatma Gandhi, said Gandhiji's greatness lay in the fact that without "power" or governmental authority behind him, without preaching God or religion, he led the modern world by appealing to the conscience of man. He represented something more than power; he had moral authority. Gandhiji's place in history was so great that the role of liberator of India was really his least.

PARIS

More than 400 people, including many members of the Indian community and French scholars, filed past old Indian statues to a reception hall in the Guimet Museum here to observe the birthday anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi.

Sardar H. S. Malik, India's Ambassador to France, and Prof. L. Renou, Director of the Indian Institute of Civilization at the Sorbonne, paid tributes to Mahatma Gandhi.

A choir of Indian girls led the chanting of *Raghupati Raghava Raja Ram*, and the wife of the Ambassador recited Gandhiji's favourite verses from the Gita.

Passages from the Koran, the Bible and other holy books were read, and sacred dances were performed by Shrimati Usha Chatterjee.

Dr S. Radhakrishnan, India's Ambassador to Russia, who is here for the general conference of U.N.E.S.C.O., spoke of the "continuous, consistent, vital tradition of India of which Gandhiji is the greatest representative in modern times."

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THE HAGUE

Indonesian and Indian residents here assembled at the Indian Embassy to observe Gandhiji's birthday.

A number of Dutch citizens from Surinamand, the Dutch West Indies, who had originally emigrated from India were also present.

Mr M. S. Mehta, Indian Ambassador, explained the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and said he belonged to the group of immortal world teachers, Christ, the Buddha, Confucius and Mohammed.

The Indian constitution, Dr Mehta said, would always bear the vast impact of Gandhiji's ideals, for which he lived and died. Even India's foreign policy of promoting world peace was just an extension of the teachings of Gandhiji's creed of love.

In a world torn by ever-growing war cries, India did not want to take any part in this or that Power bloc, but wanted to be a power for the promotion of one human family.

Dr Mehta, in a broadcast, declared Gandhiji "belonged to the whole human family, not to this race or that country."

Recalling a personal incident while discussing the boy scout movement with Gandhiji, Dr Mehta said Gandhiji criticized the threefold promise to "God, king and country," which the scouts are expected to take, as capable of causing embarrassment. According to Gandhiji, God was enough.

"Like a child terrified by a fearful demon of destruction, the spirit of man is crying for help and protection. Human society is starving for what Christ and Gandhiji have given us to save from death and ruin, namely truth and non-violence."

SINGAPORE

The spirit of Mahatma Gandhi has found an abiding home in the hearts and minds of the people in Malaya, said Mr John A. Thivy, Government of India's representative in Malaya.

The first statue of Mahatma Gandhi to be erected in Malaya was unveiled in Singapore on the occasion of his birthday anniversary. Mrs Chandan Kalelkar unveiled the bust made by a Bombay sculptor.—P.T.I.-Reuter.

upon his countrymen, who are privileged to call him as their own, the great teachings and ideals he tried to place before this naughty world. To every village and hamlet of this vast country which owes much of what it is to-day has been carried the message of Gandhian principles, to inculcate in the people the faith that has moved mountain and led them to the high destiny which is now theirs. They have been reminded of the duty and obligation to the Father of the Nation who lived and died so that they may live in the imperishable glory of the race.

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"Gandhiji was a free man in an unfree world. He demonstrated in his life that non-violence is not merely for individuals but for groups and nations. There is a non-violent way of resolving conflicts.

"When we have an encounter between two groups, two cultural patterns or two civilizations, three reactions are possible: conflict, deadlock and mutual accord, wherein we learn from each other," the Ambassador said.

"Life is full of tensions and in the modern world, with the new techniques of violence, if tensions issue in conflicts, disaster will overtake humanity. Gandhiji shows us a human, creative way of dealing with conflicts."

Prof. Renou said: "Pandit Nehru and his Government follow the ideals of Gandhiji in all things. We are wrong if we say that the world cannot profit from the lessons of India and her teacher, Gandhiji. Violence must surely one day end.

"Gandhiji's first objective—the freedom of India—is achieved. Now it remains for every one of us as individuals or as members of society to take the message of Gandhiji into the world."

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THE HAGUE

Indonesian and Indian residents here assembled at the Indian Embassy to observe Gandhiji's birthday.

A number of Dutch citizens from Surinamand, the Dutch West Indies, who had originally emigrated from India were also present.

Mr M. S. Mehta, Indian Ambassador, explained the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and said he belonged to the group of immortal world teachers, Christ, the Buddha, Confucius and Mohammed.

The Indian constitution Dr Mehta said, would always bear the vast impact of Gandhiji's ideals, for which he lived and died. Even India's foreign policy of promoting world peace was just an extension of the teachings of Gandhiji's creed of love.

In a world torn by ever-growing war cries, India did not want to take any part in this or that Power bloc, but wanted to be a power for the promotion of one human family.

Dr Mehta, in a broadcast, declared Gandhiji "belonged to the whole human family, not to this race or that country."

Recalling a personal incident while discussing the boy scout movement with Gandhiji, Dr Mehta said Gandhiji criticized the threefold promise to "God, king and country," which the scouts are expected to take, as capable of causing embarrassment. According to Gandhiji, God was enough.

"Like a child, terrified by a fearful demon of destruction, the spirit of man is crying for help and protection. Human society is starving for what Christ and Gandhiji have given us to save from death and ruin, namely truth and non-violence."

SINGAPORE

The spirit of Mahatma Gandhi has found an abiding home in the hearts and minds of the people in Malaya, said Mr John A. Thivy, Government of India's representative in Malaya.

The first statue of Mahatma Gandhi to be erected in Malaya was unveiled in Singapore on the occasion of his birthday anniversary. Mrs Chandra Kaikiar unveiled the bust made by a Bombay sculptor.—P.T.I.-Reuter.

68

Hindustan Times 4-10-49

Gandhi Jayanti

MILLIONS TAKE PART IN SPINNING PROGRAMMES

Large numbers of people took part in spinning programmes organized on the occasion of Gandhi Jayanti celebrations on Sunday in towns and villages all over India. Eighty-one days' non-stop spinning by devoted Congress workers at numerous places concluded on the day.

LUCKNOW

"World peace can only be established on the basis of Gandhian philosophy. India as a free nation has a duty to promote international understanding." In these words three Ministers of the U.P. Government, Mr A. G. Kher, Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri and Mr C. B. Gupta, paid their tributes to Mahatma Gandhi at a public meeting held this evening in observance of the Gandhi Jayanti.

Mr Kher said that the people in the world were asking one question, namely, will there be a third war? and what will happen to humanity? The League of Nations failed and U.N. is not a success. It is Gandhism alone that will promote peace.

Mr Shastri appealed to peole to follow Gandhiji's teachings. Most important of these was promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity and uplift of Harijans.

Mr Gupta said that Gandhiji was one of the very few persons who stood for establishment of real democracy. He was responsible not only for our political awakening but for our social, economic, moral and cultural uplift.

In the morning a function was held at the secretariat. Mr Kher unveiled Gandhiji's portrait.

AGRA

Gandhi Jayanti celebrations terminated today after 14 days' non-stop spinning. During the fortnight about three lakh yards of yarn was spun.

Mr Shankerrao Deo, General Secretary of the Congress, stressed the importance of charkha and said "mere spinning a few yards of yarn does not mean following Gandhiji. You have to understand the philosophy of non-violence and ultimate good of humanity."

During the day he addressed Congress workers and advised them to be more vigilant if they wished to keep the Congress alive. He also addressed a meeting on Municipal Grounds.

MADURA

Sacrificial spinning, *bhajans* and lectures on Gandhiji's life and teachings marked the celebrations in Madura in which local Congress leaders took part. A four-foot silver statue of Mahatma Gandhi, placed in a decorated chariot, was taken in procession through the main streets of the city.

HUBLI

Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated in Hubli with a flag-salutation ceremony, performed by Dr N. S. Hardikar, organizer of the Congress Seva Dal. Dr Hardikar urged the people to be prepared to sacrifice everything to keep up the honour of the National Flag.

NAINI TAL

The U.P. Premier, Pandit Pant, at a public meeting in Naini Tal declared that India's prosperity lay in strictly following Gandhiji's path. He added that whatever Gandhiji did he kept India before him.

The Premier said: "We have achieved a great position in the world on account of Mahatma Gandhi and it is our primary duty that we should maintain that dignity at all costs."

BOMBAY

Gandhi Jayanti celebrations in Bombay commenced with mass spinning at Congress House.

Later, a flag-salutation ceremony was held before a large gathering. Mr S. K. Patil, President of the B.P.C.C., unfurled the National Flag.

Mr Patil, explaining the significance of the day, exhorted the citizens of Bombay to imbibe the "noble teachings" of Mahatma Gandhi.

In the evening a public meeting was held on the Chowpathy beach at which India's Health Minister, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Mr S. K. Patil and Mr K. M. Munshi spoke.

The Health Minister said: "It will be a matter of shame for the people of India to drift away from the path shown by the Father of the Nation."

PATNA

Mr Sri Krishna Sinha, Bihar Premier, said that the salvation of mankind lay not in the pursuit of atomic powers but in the pursuit of Gandhian ideals of truth and non-violence.

Mass spinning was held at Sadaquat Ashram in which the Premier and Ministers participated.

KANPUR

The celebrations commenced with *prabhat pheris*. National flags were hoisted on all important public and Government buildings. Street corner meetings were held to explain the significance of the day.

The celebrations in the rural areas were marked by zamindari abolition activities and the kisans were busy throughout the day depositing money and taking *sanads*.

JULLUNDUR

A women's meeting was held at Jullundur under the auspices of the All-India Women's Conference. Shrimati Sita Devi, M.L.A. advised women of India to tell their fathers, brothers and husbands not to bring to the house any money collected dishonestly. That would prevent bribery and corruption to which Mahatma Gandhi was always opposed.

SIMLA

The East Punjab Governor, Mr Chandulal Trivedi, in a message says: "Our best and truest homage to Gandhiji should not be of mere words but of deeds. "Let us today take a solemn vow never to prove false to Gandhiji's teachings."

AMBALA

An appeal to rural people to co-operate in the grow-more-food campaign cleaning of Harijan *bastis* by Congress workers and spinning competitions formed part of the Gandhi Jayanti celebrations in Ambala.

Public meetings were held in the city and cantonment when eloquent tributes were paid to the services rendered by Gandhiji in the cause o humanity. Meetings were also held in educational institutions and places of worship.

SHILLONG

Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated throughout Assam with solemnity and devotion.

The Governor, Mr Sri Prakasa, along with a large number of people of the town took part in a spinning demonstration at Government House.

Earlier, floral wreaths were placed on Mahatmaji's portrait in the Darbar Hall of Government House. The programme also included singing of Mahatmaji's favourite song by the well-known singer, Mr Dilip Kumar Roy.

HYDERABAD

Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated throughout Hyderabad State with a spirit of dedication. Mass prayers, *prabhat pheris* and shunning demonstrations were conducted, under the auspices of 42 organizations.

The Gram Seva Kendra at Shivrampalli completed 81 days of non stop spinning and devotional prayers which started on July 15. Hundreds of men and women participated in spinning demonstrations held at Kasturba Maternity Centre in Hydershakate, two miles from Sangam where ashes of the Father of the Nation were immerged in river Musi.

NAGPUR

Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, Premier of the C.P. and Berar, addressing a meeting urged the people not to "destroy the basis of newly-won freedom by trying to create chaos and confusion in the country and resorting to the disruptive methods of the Communists or Socialists to replace the present governments."

Pandit Shukla said: "Mahatma Gandhi was one of those rare individuals that are born in this world to lay down a right path. To make India free, Gandhiji tried to raise the temple of freedom on the four pillars of Swadeshi, removal of untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity and village uplift. Had we followed the path laid down by him, we would have won freedom even in 1925. But we were then unable to come up to his standard."

The Premier claimed that the Congress Government was doing its best to solve every thorny problem and give relief to the people. He asked students not to take active part in politics and not to "allow themselves to be misled by Communist or Socialist dogmas." They should follow Gandhiji's teachings which alone would make the country prosperous and glorious.

RAJKOT

Mrs Raliatben, Mahatma Gandhi's elder sister, gave a few reminiscences of her brother's ideals and earlier life in a special broadcast arranged by All India Radio, Ahmedabad, in celebration of Gandhi Jayanti.

In a voice choked with emotion she said Gandhi was very fond of pickles and spices before he became Mahatma.

She quoted an instance when Mahatma Gandhi had single-handed nursed her husband who later died about 60 years ago.

Mrs Raliatben narrated some incidents of Poona fast and said that he never wanted to fast. But he firmly believed in his 'Inner Voice' which asked him "to undergo the fast and that he will succeed in his mission." She said Mahatma Gandhi was very fond of goat milk and its products. When after breaking his Poona fast, he was offered some sweets he first inquired if they were made of goat milk.

Mr A. V. Thakkar, who presided at the radio broadcast, said that Gandhiji brought freedom to us but left it to us to nurture it and it is for us to see that we maintain it.

The 81-day non-stop spinning organized by Mr Naraindas Gandhi, nephew of Mahatma Gandhi, ended on Sunday. During the period 1,02,50,000 yards of yarn was spun in different centres all over Saurashtra.

A fund was collected consisting of contributions of 81-coins for furthering constructive activities in the Union.—P.T.I.

Tribune 5/-

NOTES & COMMENTS

GANDHI JAYANTI

Reports received from the various parts of the country and from abroad show that Mahatma Gandhi's eighty-first birthday was celebrated in a spirit of humility. Mass meetings were held in most Indian towns where homage was paid to Gandhiji's principles and the public was exhorted to follow in his footsteps. Some provinces celebrated the day by introducing much needed reform. For instance, Madras separated judicial from executive functions in two districts and the U. P. began collections for the Zamindari Abolition Fund which is to be introduced to pay compensation to landlords. We wish that it had been possible for the East Punjab also to mark this day with some experiment in radical reform. There are numerous problems that imperiously cry for solution, but the tackling of which has usually been postponed from day to day. But even though two successive birthdays of the Mahatma have passed since he left us we are still groping in the dark and the province is not any the nearer to the solution of any of her urgent problems. Indeed, far from associating some remarkable achievement with Gandhiji's birthday we have been content merely to address or attend public meetings at which formal homage has been paid to the departed leader, without his teachings influencing us in the conduct of our individual or corporate life. How glad we should all have been if a genuine end had, for instance, been put to the bickerings between the two groups into which Congress is divided. That would have been a fitting tribute to the Mahatma's perennial call for unity. But instead the crack in the Provincial Congress body politic deepens and while groups fight, the province is left to its own fate. Let us express the hope that the next celebration of Gandhiji's birthday will prove more fruitful and that his followers who are now ruling the province will combine forces to make a joint effort to pull the East Punjab out of the morass into which it has fallen.

The Pioneer 5-10-49

THE NAKED TRUTH

TRUTH is many-sided. The various facets of it in relation to our present political and social economy are reflected in the statements issued by our national leaders on the occasion of the Gandhi Jayanti and Vijaya Dasami Day. No attempt was made to gloss or slur over our manifold difficulties and no quack remedy was prescribed either to cure us of our ailments with a heroic dose of any particular "ism". It was inevitable perhaps, considering the occasion, that stirring appeals should have been addressed to the people to conform to the Gandhian standards, to lead the way of life that would commend to Bapu. It was a sensible approach. Neither individuals nor nations can add to their stature unless they have certain ideals before them and to whom are we to turn for inspiration in this cynical, disillusioned age if not to Bapu? But it will be a gross over-simplification to say that all our difficulties can be attributed to our lapses from the Gandhian standards, for it will be hypocritical to deny that very few of us ever conformed to those standards. Greed, selfishness and a tendency to disregard national interests, the shortcomings which Maulana Azad has deplored, are national vices. It is a truism to state that nothing worthwhile can be built except on the granite of national character. If the foundation is pulpy sandstone, the more imposing the edifice the more spectacular will be its collapse. And national character is something which cannot be conjured out of exhortations, however stirring and soulful.

A good builder should be a shrewd judge of his materials. If he finds his foundation weak he does not attempt anything very ambitious before correcting this deficiency. It may be a long, tedious and at times a heart-breaking process but if he is wise he postpones putting up the skyscraper which he had originally planned. Our leaders, engaged in gigantic nation-building projects, should take this elementary precaution. The time to build a brand new order is not yet. The "Welfare State" is not a heresy to be derided. It embodies the healthy aspirations of free democracies all over the world. All that is wrong with our leaders' conception of a Welfare State is that they chose a singularly inappropriate moment to take several very large steps forward. Mere redistribution of the wealth of the country with almost a savage disregard of the incentives that promote creation of wealth only complicates matters. His Excellency Mr. Rajagopalachari in a fit of self-pity bemoaned the fact: "Government have made enemies of the rich. They have not yet succeeded in pleasing the poor". And he added, a shade wistfully perhaps, the significant rider: "The poor have taken over the State and, therefore, the poor must co-operate to make up the money wanted for development plans. If the workers and farmers do not consider themselves as partners and co-operators in the State, all development will have to stop for no one else will or can pay for it."

The truth of the whole matter is that our leaders are being driven to the conclusion that the standard of living which they have envisaged for the "poor" is incapable of attainment for a long time to come. In fact it will have to be further reduced in the interest of survival. There is nothing more difficult for a democracy than deliberately to lower its standard of living. Wages once they have been raised cannot be cut without causing a major upheaval. Hence the once-pitied "poor" are being cajoled to put part of their earnings back into the State's coffers in the shape of long-term loans. What the authorities forget is that the investment habit does not grow overnight. Thrift is a virtue which takes generations to cultivate. The investing public—the middle classes—has been forced during the last two years to eat up (literally) its reserves. The sections which have now got the money believe that they can always fall back on the "Welfare State" to find employment and a "living wage". Hence there is no incentive on their part to save. Besides—and no one familiar with their drab life can legitimately blame them—they have raised their standard of living. What is wrong with that? Nothing except that this has been brought about not by any increase in the national wealth, that is by more output, but by a hasty and overzealous redistribution of the national cake. The process can best be explained in Rajaji's own words: "Our population being very large, the per capita gain in the process is not very big, but that cannot be helped. What was big when it was with a few and attracted so much jealousy, when seized and distributed among the crowd, is in each pair of hungry hands but a trifle. Hungry soil absorbs all the water that falls to the share of each clod or parched square inch. Like that, the national income which has got distributed in larger wages and earnings among the poor farmers and workers does not come back into the national pool for capital expenditure. With all its evils and patent injustice the old order had its advantages in this respect."

Are we then to suggest a return to the bad old days of the exploitation of the many by a few? No. Democracy cannot function if it ignores the principles of social justice. But it cannot function either by ignoring the inexorable principles of economics. One takes out only what one puts in. Wage increases have to be justified by putting in more intensive work and thereby increasing the size of the national cake. More people should be put in productive work. But here the slogan has been: "More pay for less work." And in the guise of promoting the interests of the "Welfare State" Government departments have been inflated beyond recognition with the result that more persons are now engaged in unproductive work than ever before in the history of the country. Our mentors have paid only lip service to the tenets of Gandhian economy. They have idolised poverty in public while bemoaning in private their inability to entertain on the same scale as ten times richer embassies abroad. Their orgy of squandermania has ceased to inspire public confidence in their much boosted economy measures which have yet to be implemented. Gandhi's gospel was work and self-sufficiency. Barring a handful of his followers the rest have sought refuge in shirking and in gallons of self-pity. Maybe that is why their messages fall so flat on the public. To put across the Gandhian message the preaching, fervent as it is, will have to be matched by personal performance. And so far as the people are concerned they will have to be bluntly told that the inescapable condition of escape from the present crisis is that there must forthwith be an increase in economic efficiency all round, the alternative being a sharp and catastrophic fall in the standard of living.

INDIA'S HOMAGE TO FATHER OF THE NATION

Muslims Reiterate Loyalty To Union

(From Our Correspondents)

Reports of Gandhi Jayanti celebrations continue to be received from all over India. Sunday's programme included 'prabhat pheris,' mass spinning and public meetings at which homage was paid to the Father of the Nation.

In the U.P. the day had a special significance. It was on that day that the Government launched the Zamindari Abolition Fund.

Aligarh

The celebrations here were marked by the inauguration of collections for the Zamindari Abolition Fund throughout the district. Leading Congressmen and district officials helped in the drive. The tehsil treasury was kept open in order to enable tenants to deposit their money.

The day began with *prabhat pheris* and the programme included spinning dangals, flag-hoisting, unveiling of the portrait of Mahatma Gandhi and a public meeting.

A procession was also taken out.

Jhansi

The public meeting here was presided over by Mr Nigam.

Mr Rameshwar Prasad Sharma, President of the District Congress Committee, presided over the Congress workers' meeting.

At the zamindari abolition meeting *bhumidari sanads* were given to the peasants.

Gandhiji's portraits were unveiled in the schools.

Fatehgarh

Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated throughout the district as also at the Rajput Regimental Centre.

In the evening a sports competition was held, civil and military officers attending. The Regimental P. T. Staff gave a demonstration in physical exercises.

Jubbulpore

Local Muslims besides joining the celebrations organized by others held a separate meeting also under the presidentship of the ex-Muslim League president, Maulana Burhanul Haque.

Addressing the meeting he reiterated Jubbulpore Muslims' implicit loyalty to the Indian Union remarking that they were prepared to shed their blood to defend the country's freedom and solidarity. He condemned the Pakistan Premier's outbursts adding that they were a tissue of lies. He advised the Muslims to ignore Pakistan's malicious and mischievous propaganda and follow Gandhiji's ideals.

Celebrations were also held at the Mahaveer Jain Library under the presidentship of Seth Govind Das, who in his speech appealed to the people to follow Gandhiji's teachings.

Secunderabad

The celebrations by Scheduled Caste students here were marred by an ugly incident. It transpires that the Harijan students placed Dr Ambedkar's picture among those of other national leaders in the central hall of their hostel. This was objected to by the secretary of the hostel, which is run by the Scheduled Castes Trust Fund started by the Hyderabad Government. He threw away the photo of the Harijan leader, and drove out the students from the hostel.

Mathura

A public meeting was held at the Gandhi Park. Several speakers paid homage to the Father of the Nation. The programme also included *prabhat pheris, charkha dangal*, non-stop charkha *yagna* for 81 hours, Gandhi *pradarshini* and meetings in Muslim and Harijan localities.

Daryabad

A large number of people attended the public meeting here. Mr Somnath Bhal presided. Mr Sherwani addressed the meeting.

Amritsar

The district Congress committee carried out an elaborate programme. *Prabhat pheris* were taken out by the different ward Congress committees. There was a public meeting in the Harijan quarters, a charkha spinning in the Congress office and a public meeting in Jallianwala Bagh in the evening. The Socialist Party also organized a public meeting in Ram Bagh.

"Gandhiji was the messenger of peace and love to the world, and his cult of non-violence, Charkha and Harijan uplift were the most potent weapons to fight evil, poverty and capitalism," said Lala Amir Chand Gupta, President of the District Congress Committee (City), addressing the public meeting held in the Harijan quarters at Haripura.

GANDHI JAYANTI AT TEHERAN & SAIGON

Gandhi Jayanti was observed in many oversea towns.

TEHERAN

"Gandhiji was one of those men of destiny whose names history blazones in letters of gold," said Syed Ali Zaheer, India's Ambassador in Iran, at a meeting held in the Indian Embassy to celebrate the 80th birthday of Gandhiji.

The members of the Indian community in Teheran numbering over 100 and the officials of the Indian Embassy were present at the occasion. Paying tribute to the Mahatma, the Ambassador said that Gandhiji was one of those immortal prophets of peace who will be remembered for all time to come.

"He was born at a time," the Ambassador continued, "when India was passing through a period of distress born out of bondage, when even to talk of freedom in India was considered treason, punishable even with death. Yet during his lifetime he freed his country from that galling bondage. That was an achievement enough but far greater was his philosophy of life which we should not only remember with reverence but also emulate so that peace may reign on earth and goodwill may prevail among men."

SAIGON

The Indian National Flag flew from Indian homes in Saigon when a simple religious service was held to mark the anniversary of the birth of Gandhiji. During the service which was held in a Saigon theatre, the Indian Consul-General, Mr K. Kamath, said: "We can best honour Mahatma Gandhi by following his teaching and example. He left us a great spiritual heritage and gave us our political freedom. Let us make our lives worthy of the gifts he gave us."

The audience, which filled the theatre and remained standing throughout the ceremony, joined in singing *Ram Dhun*. A film "Mahatma, the immortal" was shown.

Later the President and members of the Council of the Central Indian Association, accompanied by their wives, visited local hospital and distributed 1,000 tins of condensed milk to patients.—P.T.I.-Reuter.

National Herald 7-10-49

65

GANDHI JAYANTI IN U.P. TOWNS

Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated in U. P. towns on Sunday last in a solemn manner. The day opened with prabhat pheris and flag-hoistings and non-stop charka demonstrations at most places. Processions were taken out in the afternoon and meetings were held at which tributes were paid to the Father of the Nation and people were urged to follow the path shown by him. In the rural areas, too, the celebrations were held in a befitting manner owing to the existence of a vast panchayat organisation. Below are the reports received from the districts:

ALLAHABAD

Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated at the Bengali College under the joint auspices of the Rabindra Sahitya Basar, Vichitra, Indian National Theatre Association, Punjabi Sahitya Mandal, Chaijanika, and other cultural associations. Dr. R. P. Tripathi, professor of history, Allahabad University, presided. An interesting programme of recitations from the scriptures and songs was gone through in Hindi, Punjab and Bengali. In his address, Dr. Tripathi referred to Gandhiji's special emphasis on the observance of dharma or the doing of ones duties.

Gandhi Jayanti was also celebrated at the Aranda Lodge, the Central Pedagogical Institute, the Kesarwani Pathshala, the Saraswati Pathshala and the town rationing office.

The U. P. Boy Scouts Association held a camp fire at its provincial headquarters to celebrate Gandhi Jayanti. Mr. B. C. Banerji, inspector of schools, gave a talk on the life and philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi.

BAREILLY

At all Government offices and offices of the O. T. Railway, national flags were hoisted and portraits of Gandhiji were unveiled by the heads of the departments. The function at the collectorate attracted a large gathering of Government servants. Mr. Govind Sahai, Parliamentary Secretary, hoisted the national flag and exhorted the Government servants to imbibe in life the high ideals of honesty and integrity preached by the Father of the Nation. At the municipal office, the district board office and the District Sailors' Soldiers' and Airmen's Board's short functions were held. A public meeting was held in the evening under the presidentship of Mr. Dharam Dutt Vaid. Mr. Govind Sahai was the main speaker.

MUSSOORIE

Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated at Mussoorie amidst great enthusiasm. Tributes were paid to the Father of the Nation at various public functions held during the week. Prabhat pheris, procession, charka dangal, flag-hoistings and a public meeting were held on October 2. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Ba'krishna Sharma, member of the Constituent Assembly, who paid tributes to the architect of modern India and asked the audience to follow his teachings. The post and telegraph staff also celebrated the day by holding a meeting under the presidentship of Mr. S. P. Pandhi.

SULTANPUR

In the morning people went in batches in different parts of the town reciting Gandhiji's favourite bhajan, 'Raghupathi Raghava Raja Ram' and cleaning the streets and lanes. At 8 a.m. Gandhiji's portraits were unveiled in a number of offices and institutions followed by a public meeting in the tehsil compound. A spinning competition was held in the Chowk where verses from the Gita were recited. A portrait of Mahatma Gandhi was taken out in a procession in a carriage decorated with National Flags. It terminated at Sundar Lal Memorial Ground where a public meeting was held under the presidentship of Mr. Ram Naresh Tripathi, famous author and poet.

MEERUT

Addressing a meeting here, Mr. Pearey Lal, former secretary of Gandhiji, said that Gandhiji gave the nation the weapon of non-violence at which the world looked at in wonder. He added that if they forgot his teachings they were doing no honour to him by celebrating his birthday. He regretted that today people were deviating from the path shown by the Father of the Nation.

DEHRA DUN

Addressing a meeting at the municipal maidan, Mr. Khurshed Lal, Deputy Minister for Communications, paid glowing tributes to the Father of the Nation and urged people to follow his teachings. A children's meeting was held under the auspices of Nanhi Duniya with a child in the chair.

HARDOI

Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated in all Congress mandals in the district. At some places charkha competitions were organised. Much enthusiasm was in evidence this year in the rural areas because the day coincided with the inauguration of the Zamindari Abolition Fund.

FAIZABAD

Gandhi Jayanti was observed throughout the district with due solemnity. At Faizabad, Mr. Nisar Ahmad Sherwani, Minister for Agriculture, addressed a meeting and paid tributes to the Father of the Nation. Prabhat pheris, spinning demonstrations and a procession were organised.

BASTI

Gandhiji's portraits were unveiled at Government offices and educational institutions. At the collectorate Mr. K. C. Mittal, district magistrate, unveiled the portrait and made a short speech on virtues of truth and non-violence. Later the district magistrate laid the foundation stone of a Gandhi Sangit Bhawan. In the evening a public meeting was held at the Kateshwar Park under the presidentship of Mr. Dharam Nath.

BAHRAICH

The day opened with prabhat pheris in different wards of the town. In the afternoon, a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi was taken out in a procession headed by the police band followed by a "chauki" on which a few women were plying the charkha. It terminated at the clock tower where a meeting was held under the presidentship of Mr. Bhagwan Din Misra, MLA.

BARA BANKI

Mr. Nisar Ahmad Sherwani, Agriculture Minister, hoisted the National Flag at the collectorate building, unveiled a portrait of Gandhiji in the district board hall and addressed meetings in the town and at Daryabad. Speaking at these meetings, the minister said that the true way of paying homage to Gandhiji was to follow the path shown by him.

HAPUR

Gandhi Jayanti fortnight celebrations came to a close on October 2. Prayers were offered at a meeting at which Mr. Pyare Lal gave a discourse on the teachings and philosophy of the Gita and Mahatma Gandhi. There were spinning demonstrations during the week and Congressmen sold Gandhi literature. Funds were collected for the Charkha Sangh.

NAJIBABAD

Prabhat pheris were taken out and flags were hoisted at different official and non-official institutions. A public meeting was held in the Gandhi Park with Mr. Harish Chandra Astavans in the chair.

ALIGARH

Gandhi Jayanti celebrations were held at all public institutions. The functions at the Gandhi Eye Hospital and the municipal office attracted huge crowds of men and women. Leading citizens of the town participated in a procession which terminated in the Malaviya Pustakalaya where a meeting was held. Non-stop spinning demonstration was held at Subhas Chowk from the night of September 28 to October 2.

DEORIA

Flag-hoisting ceremonies were held at 8 a.m. at the Congress Bhawan and public buildings. Prizes were distributed to winners in a charkha dangal.

KHURJA

The town Congress and the Socialist Party arranged a series of lectures separately on the life and teachings of Gandhiji. A kavi sammelan was held in the N.R.E.C. Higher Secondary School under the presidentship of Capt. Bhagwan Singh, district magistrate.

JHANSI

Prabhat pheris, a spinning competition, and a public meeting under the presidentship of Mr. Kalicharan Nigam, were the chief features of the day. A meeting of Congress workers was also held under the presidency of Mr. Rameshwar Prasad Sharma, president of the district Congress. Gandhi Jayanti was also celebrated at the offices of the district and municipal boards, police lines and a government and railway offices and educational institutions.

GHAZIABAD

The day began with prabhat pheris and ended with a public meeting at which Mr. Kushi Ram Sharma was the main speaker. Certificates were distributed at the meeting to farmers who own lands and an appeal was made to tenants to become bhumidhars.

JAUNPUR

Mr. Hargovind Singh, Parliamentary Secretary unveiled Gandhiji's portrait at the municipal office. Mr. S. R. D. Saxena, district magistrate, unfurled the flag at the collectorate and also unveiled a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi there. The unveiling of Gandhiji's portraits was also performed at the Tilakdhari Degree College and M. H. Intermediate College. A public meeting was held in the evening at the town hall under the presidentship of Mr. Ram Lagan Singh, chairman of the municipal board.

SITAPUR

The day's celebrations began with prabhat pheris. A 24-hour non-stop charkha yajna was held at the Gandhi Ashram. The National Flag was hoisted at all schools and college buildings, offices, government buildings and public places and portraits of Mahatma Gandhi were also unveiled. Village panchayats throughout the district celebrated Gandhi Jayanti. A spinning competition was held in the Gandhi Ashram.

SHAHJAHANPUR

Portraits of Bapu were garlanded at the district board, educational institutions and offices. At the Gandhi Library a combined programme on behalf of the library and the city Congress committee was conducted under the presidentship of Mr. Vishnu Sharma Bhartiya, president of the Sadachar Mandal. A kavi sammelan was also organised.

Mr. Zahid Hasan Khan donated his zamindari in the village of Jahanpur, valuated at Rs. 15,000 to the Gandhi Ashram production centre at Vijaipur.

BALRAMPUR

A charkha spinning competition was held in the noon. At 5 p.m., prayers were held at Ram Lila grounds and a meeting was held which was addressed among others, by Mr. Balbhadra Prasad Shukla. Due to establishment of village panchayats, a greater enthusiasm was visible this year in the villages, where prabhat pheris were organised, national flags were hoisted on Gandhi chabootras and meetings were held under the auspices of the gaon sabhas.

PAURI

Officials and Congressmen jointly celebrated Gandhi Jayanti here. Prabhat pheris, march-past by the police, scouts and P. R. D. volunteers, and flag-hoistings were carried on till 10-30 a.m., followed by cleaning of Harijan bastis in the neighbouring seven villages by public workers. In the evening a public meeting was held presided over by Mr. Chandra Singh Rawat. Mr. Nazar Muhammad, tehsildar of Pauri announced that seven prizes had been awarded to persons for the sweeping and cleaning of the Harijan bastis. He also stated that a running shield would be awarded to the village with best sanitary conditions.

Rampur

RAMPUR, Oct. 5.—Mohalla meetings, charkha demonstration and enrolment of Congress members were the chief features of the Gandhi Jayanti week celebrations which concluded here on October 2. During the week Mr. C. B. Gupta, Minister for Civil Supplies, U.P., also visited Rampur and addressed a public meeting at the Gandhi Park.

On October 2, a procession was taken out from the district Congress committee office to the Gandhi Park where a public meeting was held. Local Congressmen and others who addressed the meeting paid tributes to Mahatma Gandhi's services to the nation and exhorted the audience to take up his constructive programme.

The Lok Sevak Sangh also celebrated the week. The Socialist Party held a separate meeting on Gandhi Jayanti day.

Resignation from A-ICC: Mr. Shanti Saran, member of the A-ICC, submitted his resignation from the district Congress committee at the public meeting held on Gandhi Jayanti day. He also announced that he was resigning from the UPCC and the A-ICC. Giving reasons for his resignation, Mr. Shanti Saran said that he had taken a vow to collect at least 1,000 people at the Gandhi Jayanti meeting or else he would resign from all elective posts in the Congress.

Gandhiji's Conception Of 'Swaraj'

(This article written by Mahatma Gandhi is translated from the Gujarati "Navajivan" dated March 22, 1931, under the caption "The Prince and the Peasant." It appears in this week's "Harijan.")

THE following question, which I have expanded a little without changing its spirit, was put to me the other day at a meeting of workers at Vile Parle (Bombay):

"You say that the *Swaraj* of your conception will give equal justice to the prince and the peasant; it will protect both and safeguard the interests of both. Is not this self-contradictory? Just look at the labourer and the employer, the master of the house and his servant; the brahman and the *bhangi*, the rich man and the pauper. Whichever side you turn your eyes, you notice a class-war. The conflict between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots' seems to be going on since pre-historical times. It seems that it is impossible for a person to be happy without inflicting hardship on another. It appears to be the law of nature. You wish to alter the law of nature. Is it not an attempt as vain as striking your sword against the air?"

This is a good question and is possibly troubling many a mind. Let us consider it.

'RAMARAJ'

If there ever was something like *Ramaraj* in the world, it should be possible to restore it. I believe that it did exist one day. Here 'Rama' means a *panchayat* (the council of five). God dwells in the *panchayat* because it represents public opinion. When the public opinion is free and unartificial, it is truthful. A State built upon public opinion is the *Ramaraj* for that area. We come across such relations even at present at some places. Some landholders excel their tenants in their simplicity and in working for their welfare. It is not that every king exploits his people. During my travels, I have come across both good and bad people. Every employer is not a heartless fellow. It is true that I have not seen several instances of rich men who behave as trustees or friends of the poor. I shall also admit that there is much scope for further improvement in the few that I have seen. But this is an experience gained in the atmosphere of a Satanic rule. So, there need be no wonder if there is only one good Vibhishana in Lanka. The point is that if there is one, you can expect to have many. When exceptions multiply, they become the rule. So this is my opinion as to what is possible. I know, however, that the questioner will not be satisfied with this answer.

The effort to bring into operation what is possible is *Satyagraha*, 'Satya' is just. A just administration is *Satyayuga* (age of truth), *Swaraj*, *Dharma-raj*, *Ramaraj*, people's government. In such government, the ruler will be the protector, trustee and friend of the people. The difference between his life and that of the humble peasant will not be the difference between heaven and earth, as at present. There would be due sense of proportion between his palace and the peasant's hut. The difference between their respective wants would also be very small. Both of them will have pure water and air. The poor will get the food they need. The ruler will not relish the proverbial fifty-six dishes but will be satisfied with six. If the poor takes his food in earthen or wooden utensils, the ruler may take it in those of brass. But the ruler cannot use silver and gold utensils without exploiting the poor. The poor will get the necessary clothing; the ruler may have more suits, but the difference in quality must not be such as to cause jealousy. The children of the ruler and the peasant will learn in the same primary school. The former will not regard himself as the patron or benefactor of the people. He will not regard his services to his people as an obligation conferred upon them. There is no place for conferring obligations in the performance of one's duties. It is the duty of the ruler to serve his people.

DUTY OF THE POOR

What I have said about the ruler applies to all owners of wealth. Just as it is the duty of the ruler to be the trustee and friend of the people, so that of the latter is not to be jealous of the former. The poor man must know that to a great extent poverty is due to his own faults and shortcomings. So while the poor man must strive to improve his condition, he must not hate the ruler and wish his destruction. He must wish for the ruler's reform. He must not want rulership for himself, but remain content by earning his own wants. The condition of mutual co-operation and help is the *Swaraj* of my conception.

In my opinion, in order to obtain this *Swaraj*, it is necessary to bring about radical reforms in the training of both the ruler and the ruled. Both the exploiter and the exploited are groping in the dark. Both have lost their way. The condition of neither is tolerable. But it is difficult for the rulers and the rich to realize this. But I believe that if one party realizes the truth, the other will also have to do so, and so I have chosen the service of the poor. It is not possible for all to be rulers. But every one can merge himself in the all. If the poor realize their rights and along with it their duties, we can have our *Swaraj* today. This realization cannot come as speedily through other methods as through *Satyagraha*. We have seen this with our own eyes during the last twelve months. To the extent we took to corrupt methods in the prosecution of that *Satyagraha*, we have obstructed the way to *Swaraj*.

SELF-PURIFICATION

Satyagraha is the greatest means of educating the public and awakening the people. *Satyagraha* also means self-purification. To the rulers we can only talk of self-purification. It will take time to produce any effect upon them. The poor are always in search of a guide: they know their own pains, but not the remedy. So they are willing to try whatever remedy is shown to them. In this situation, if they get a true friend, they do not leave him and follow his instructions to the best of their capacity; so, in a way, the poor man is a seeker. *Swaraj* is also attained through him. He has to know his strength, and having known it, to use it with restraint. When this happens, you may take it that the *Swaraj* of my conception has been attained. When the people have attained that strength, they would be able to resist successfully both the foreign as well as the indigenous government.

The duty of the workers, therefore, is to serve the people. It can be done only through truth and non-violence. To the extent the means are impure the progress of the people will be obstructed.

In the meantime, if the ruler and the moneyed class will understand the spirit of the age, they will relinquish their private ownership of wealth and the ability to produce wealth and voluntarily make themselves trustees of the same; and since a trustee has also the right to earn his living, they would use that wealth for themselves only in a limited manner and to the extent of their wants. If they do not do so, the deadly struggle between the ruler and the ruled and the rich and the poor must inevitably go on. In the hope that *Satyagraha* would be able to check the advance of its poison, people like me have dedicated their all to that weapon.

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63

The Pioneer

LET THEM LIVE

NATHURAM GODSE and his partner in the assassination which rocked the world are to be executed on November 15. There are no extenuating circumstances for modifying this extreme penalty. Even unrepentant Godse is convinced "that the supreme code of justice which demands blood for blood has been adopted". But to hang him is to invest him with the aura of martyrdom which the perverse have already started associating with him. The assassin must be denied this posthumous glory. Gandhi met with a martyr's death. Probably his physical destruction should not be called "death". The Master was not only indomitable—a virtue common to all fearless men—he was "inexpugnable". There was no place or approach by which he could be attacked, assaulted, seriously injured, much less conquered. The body to him was always an irrelevant factor. In fact he always referred to it as a "prison". A thousand Godses and Aptes could not touch his inexpugnable spirit. All that they did to him was what the ignorant and the intolerant have done to saints and savants throughout the ages. They made Socrates drink death; they nailed Jesus to the Cross; they lighted faggots that burnt the medieval martyrs; they stoned and killed the prophets. Gandhi, as has been stressed by Radhakrishnan, did not escape the fate of being misunderstood and hated. He met his death facing the forces of darkness of ultimate unreason, and through it increased the powers of light, love and reason. "He died", to quote Radhakrishnan again, "with the name of God on his lips and love in his heart." Even as he received the bullet wounds he greeted his murderer and wished him well. He lived up to what he preached." The lesser mortals that we are, we cannot live up to his ideals. But working within our limitations it is still possible to avoid an error which might make posterity link Gandhi's name with that of his assassin. The black warrants have been signed for Godse and Apte. The blackness of their crime will not be relieved by their execution. Let them live the full span of their tainted lives in prison and witness the slow fading of their perverse vision of martyrdom. Let them make their exit, when the time comes, wholly disillusioned and unwept, unhonoured and unsung, even by the most perverse section in the coun-

P.I.O. 32.

NOTICE

All communications intended for publication in the National Herald must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer not necessarily for publication but as a guarantee of good faith. In preparing MS for the press correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only and to address their communications to the editor and not to any member of the staff by name. Attention to the rule will save inconvenience and delay.

No Article will be paid for unless there is an understanding to that effect. Rejected articles will not be returned unless adequate postage is enclosed by the contributor.

Contributors are requested to bear in mind that in view of shortage of space articles should be as short as possible.

2-11-42

NATIONAL HERALD

LET JUSTICE BE DONE

To discuss the fate of a criminal convicted of murder, sentenced to death and about to be hanged may seem a heartless, and a thankless, task. It may seem unnecessary to try to persuade the state that it should hang or not hang. But the case for clemency in the case of Godse is being canvassed and we are entitled to express our views, which we have no doubt are held by the largest section of the people. If we had not been sure that we were free from bitterness, from bias of any kind and from the technical narrowness of considerations of jurisprudence, we would not have ventured on this task. Our views are the result of deep deliberation on all the issues involved and for dispassionateness and clarity we cannot do better than follow Mr. Mashruwala, who in an article in Harijan has discussed all aspects of the case. He is one of the truest followers of Gandhi and one who has insight and imagination. He has expressed what may be called the Gandhian view of the Godse case with candour. That even after losing in a very heartless and shocking manner their dearest and most respected Bapu (writes Mr. Mashruwala) his sons and son-like associates, disciples and admirers should be moved by feelings of clemency towards one who, in a personal way, was guilty of the greatest wrong against them, demonstrates to the religious-minded people the sublimation and balance which Gandhiji's teachings had brought about in the sentiment of his followers. We may add that this feeling of forgiveness is shared by many who are not sons, son-like associates, disciples and admirers, many who reviled Gandhi when he was alive and paid tributes to his greatness after his death, many who realized his greatness after his death but are nowhere near his ideas, many who respect his memory but revile his teachings.

This apart, two considerations have arisen. What would Gandhi have wished and would it not be the supreme triumph of non-violence of which Gandhi was the apostle if his murderer were forgiven? Gandhi's life was a life of forgiveness but Mr. Mashruwala states that, while according to some of Gandhi's associates he would have asked the Government not to hang his assassin, other equally close associates think that he would not have interfered with the discretion of the Government, in spite of his own free pardon. Mr. Mashruwala does not wish to speculate on the matter but we are prepared to believe that Gandhi would have taken the first course. In effect it would not have been different from the second course. For Gandhi was not, the state, he was not a king or dictator with power of life and death and the state, in spite of his wishes, would have been put to the strain of considerations similar to those which present themselves now. Murder is not compoundable. As for vindicating non-violence, even if the state were based on less violence than it is now, it would be hypocrisy to flaunt such a poor token of non-violence and seek to salve our consciences. If such non-violence were to be real, it would mean wide extension and abolition of the death sentence. For, as Mr. Mashruwala points out, it would be inconsistent—we might say useless and ludicrous—if only murderers of Mahatmas were pardoned. While man in his leaps into the future is entitled to consider the question carefully, we are against such a step for, apart from the deterrent aspect, abolition of the death sentence would at the present stage put a premium on political murder. Nor is the state considering abolition. And if non-violence were involved why commute the sentence? Why not set free the murderer, for to be confined for life is to die many deaths and hanging is more merciful? Gandhi's non-violence stands untarnished; for the state to indulge in humbug is to tarnish it. Nevertheless we agree with Mr. Mashruwala that the granting of life to a murderer, particularly to a murderer of Gandhi, without his asking for it, would be an act of "supreme grace", which only a government trained by Gandhi might dream of doing, though Mr. Mashruwala would not blame the Government, who do not claim to be a Mahatma Government, "if they did not show clemency." But we would like to examine the nature of the grace involved and the various aspects of it, before dealing with the political implications of the case and the needs of public policy.

As our reverence for Gandhi and recognition of his greatness are not of recent post-mortem origin, we might frankly express our views again on the nature of his greatness. It was human, not divine and we are not unaware of the sublimities he reached and which made him seem divine. Considering his teachings, we are sure that he himself did not wish to be considered as anything else but a man on an endless quest of experience and discovery but the thing that he and others feared has come to pass, the complete apotheosis of the man. To make a god of him and give up the need for following always seemed easier and the nature of his death presented the world with an apocalyptic act of divinity. The nation finds it easy to add one more god to its many gods and forget the real Gandhi. He, whose death seems to satisfy our sense of drama and tragedy and religion, wished to live and he knew that his country needed him. To associate Godse with an act of canonization or divinization is an unnecessary act and an act of supererogation on anybody's part. To think that Gandhi would have been less great if he had not died the way he died shows our limitations and not the limitations of Gandhi and cynics would be correct in thinking that crucifixion was almost a man-imposed necessity for if Christ were to be alive today he would be crucified again. Judas betrayed Christ and redeemed himself by repentance but nobody would like to be called a Judas. To transfer a part of Gandhi's halo to Godse might seem Puranic to myth-bound minds but we are sure that even if Godse were to repent nobody would like to belong to the race of Godses. To invest the question of clemency with extra-human considerations is to bring back sentiment in the cloak of metaphysics. Godse has not repented and, as far as we know, the efforts of Mr. Ramdas Gandhi at converting him have proved to be of no use. There are no redeeming features, on the other hand, there has been an extraordinary display of hardihood. Clemency would look as if hardihood could strike us into greater sublimity than Gandhi's greatness itself. And clemency in Godse's case would make the whole conspiracy, which he tried to disprove apparently to save his comrades, for murdering Gandhi a bad dream which the nation might like to forget. The case for keeping the drama on a human level is clear and in human terms there is no case for clemency, even in the case of Apte, for whose life Mr. Mashruwala has made a plea.

The case against clemency is very strong on grounds of public policy and the Government, if they had any hesitation in this matter, should consider the likely grave consequences of clemency. Mr. Mashruwala himself has thrown light on this aspect without meaning any warning. He says that clemency might be interpreted as an act of imbecility and incapacity to govern, that it is attended with grave risks and can be exercised only by "those who are accustomed, when they have been convinced of a principle, to act upon it straightaway regardless of consequences and risks, or with preparedness to carry out the logical consequences of such a step." But Mr. Mashruwala unconsciously helps in confusion of the issues when he reminds us that all of us had a share in the murder of Gandhi and that Godse was only a physical medium of a thousand minds. This is metaphysics again. Let it be remembered that the state was anchored to Gandhi's policy, that Godse and his fellow-conspirators wanted to destroy the state by destroying the man behind the state, that the elements who think and feel with Godse are different from the ignorant, indifferent, weak or vacillating people who did not have a strong faith in Gandhi and did not rally to him. There may have been faint hearts at a time when Hindu society was shocked and even the most stout-hearted nationalist wavered at critical stages, but they have no business to claim company with others who had not the least doubt about Gandhi's policy. The struggle is not ended; the issues still remain and a spurious sense of collective guilt does not redeem us from the obligation to carry forward Gandhi's message. The Godses will not do it; many of those who are today pleading for clemency share his dissent from Gandhi on matters still vital to the state, even if they are not Mahasabhamen who have little to do with non-violence or repentance but are begging for clemency; and a state embodying a certain outlook would undermine that outlook, show weakness, compromise with vicious dissent, by showing clemency to a determined opponent who, it is claimed, has a following. To keep Godse alive is to keep the issue alive; if the issue would be kept alive in any case, it would be keeping its symbol alive, whatever might be Godse's suffering or the chance of his repentance. His statement in court cannot be forgotten; he is a political opponent of a type dangerous to the state and which most states would liquidate; he is a self-confessed murderer and murder is insanity whatever might be the proven or unproven motive. It is not difficult for any murderer with some degree of literacy to clothe an act of murder in social or political philosophy and we cannot think of Godse as anything better. In a few quarters, which do not share Godse's ideology, the question of martyrdom has been brought up. Judas is quite an interesting character but he is not a martyr. The Goerings of the last war are not martyrs. We could not make much use of our terrorist martyrs, in spite of our tremendous nationalism. It seems to us a fantastic notion that Godse would become a martyr. It is either fear based on imagination, in the case of those who do not like Godse, or a thought which is father to the wish, in the case of others. Large numbers of people are opposed to Gandhi on economics or other matters and they will be entitled to oppose him as long as they do nothing criminal or heinous and will be opposed by the state when they put themselves against it. But they need no martyrs to sustain them. If people are so moved subconsciously by the strength of Godse's feeling that they believe martyrdom is possible, we would say that we prefer a dead martyr to a live martyr. The Government would be committing a blunder of the first magnitude, if they were to be influenced by the fancy notions of non-violence advocated by real and false followers of Gandhi or be betrayed into denial of their basic policy by surrender to furtive sentiment. We are confident that the conscience of civilized mankind, including that of bigots, would never allow itself to be imposed by the murderer of Gandhi as a martyr. Let anybody dare but let state policy take its course.

61

India express
3-11-48.

GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

Working Units to Be Formed All Over India

NEW DELHI, Nov. 2.

The Executive Committee of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund at its first meeting held at Sardar Patel's residence on Oct. 30 and 31 decided to fix up working units all over India to carry on the work of the fund.

Each unit will be under the charge of a 'Sanchalak' (organiser) who will be assisted by an Advisory Committee of 12 members, six of whom will be representatives of constructive organisations, five from provincial collection committees and one to be nominated by the Industrial Committee of the Gandhi National Memorial Fund.

A sub-committee consisting of Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Mr. Mahabir Prasad Poddar and the Secretary of the Fund was formed to decide the extent of financial assistance to be given to various central constructive organisations. Applications by provincial constructive organisations for financial assistance will be forwarded to provincial sanchalaks who will send up schemes in consultation with their advisory committees.

The committee co-opted Mr. Mavlankar, Mr. Mahabir Prasad Poddar and Mr. Laxminarayan as its members.

The committee decided to have the central office of the fund in Delhi at Rajghat.

Those who attended the meeting included Sardar Patel, Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Mr. Mavlankar, Mr. G. D. Birla, Mr. Shankar Rao Deo, Mr. M. P. Poddar, Smt. Yashodhara Dasappa and Mr. Lakshmidas Purshottam.

A meeting of the Board of Trustees of the fund was held immediately after the meeting of the executive committee. Resolutions passed by the executive committee were endorsed by the board.—P.T.I.

Statesman 8-11-49

60

GOVERNOR-GENERAL REJECTS MERCY PETITIONS

NATHURAM GODSE & APTE TO HANG ON NOV. 15

FROM OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE

NEW DELHI, Monday.—It was announced this afternoon that the Governor-General had rejected the mercy petitions of Nathuram V. Godse and Narayan D. Apte, sentenced to death for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi.

BOTH will be hanged, as scheduled, on Tuesday, November 15 in Ambala jail, where they have been lodged since the end of their trial in the Court of the Special Judge in the Delhi Red Fort, last February.

Godse's parents filed the mercy petition on his behalf, while two petitions were filed on behalf of Apte by himself and his wife. Godse personally applied for his execution to be carried out in his home province.

Reasons for the rejection of the mercy petitions are not made public, but the official view seems to be that, as long as the death penalty remains legal, there cannot be a more deserving case for such punishment than that of Godse and Apte.

Mahatma Gandhi was murdered at a prayer meeting in Delhi on January 30, 1948, and 31 accused, including three absconders, were sent up for trial in the court of the Special Judge, Mr Atma Charan, on May 27. Judgment was delivered on February 10, 1949.

Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte were sentenced to death for murder and conspiracy to murder and five others to transportation for life, with the recommendation that the sentence on one of them, Shankar Kistayya, be reduced. Another accused, Mr V. D. Savarkar, was acquitted.

Appeals against the sentences passed by the Special Judge were made to the East Punjab High Court and were heard by a bench of three judges between May 2 and June 6. Judgment was delivered on June 21.

Upholding the sentences of death on Godse and Apte, the High Court acquitted two of the other accused, Dattatraya Parachure and Shankar Kistayya. In a separate judgment, one of the three judges recommended a reduction of the sentence of transportation on Gopal Godse and Madanlal Pahwa.

Pauper's appeals were made to the Privy Council and came up for hearing on October 12, when they were rejected. Warrants for the execution of Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte were signed by the new Special Judge, Mr S. S. Dulat, on October 26. Execution was fixed for November 15.

H.T. 9-11

59

A DILEMMA OF MERCY

It may be surmised from the decisive comment made by Pandit Nehru on the eve of his departure from New York that the decision not to interfere with the judicial sentences passed on Godse and Apte was taken after due consultation between the Governor-General, the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister. They were never known to have differed on the point. But they had influentially backed appeals for clemency to consider. They could have achieved a certain amount of popularity in this country and abroad by acceding to the appeals. The temptation to act on what Mahatma Gandhi might have advised or wished had it been possible for him to be both alive and dead must have been strong. But any such step would have amounted to a theatrical parade of virtue the country does not possess. As an experiment it would have fallen flat after the initial sense of novelty. The world would not have known what to make of it. And it would be less humane to keep the condemned men locked up for life than to hang them. Indeed the self-contradictory argument of some of the protagonists of commutation was that the men should be made to live in order that in the solitude of their existence in prison they may suffer the richly deserved mental agonies of contrition. The present Government, least of all the Governor-General, could not be expected to acquiesce in so futile and pointless a measure of cruelty, even assuming that events would turn out as supposed. There has been two years' time for repentance. But one has seen little sign of it whether on the part of the conspirators who plotted or connived—and escaped the clutches of the law— or those who acted as ready instruments. It is well that there has been no show of sorrow to cloud the issue. In fact, the most realistic approach to the whole question of his fate has been that of Nathuram Godse himself. Knowing the men he has been dealing with, he has been frank and bold. His understanding has been clear and he tried his best to shield others by taking the whole responsibility on himself.

The only real alternative to execution was the lofty step of discharge. Be it said to their credit that some of the humanitarians have bravely advocated such a course. But we shudder to contemplate the consequences. How would the public have taken it? The interest of many would have been morbid, others might have harboured thoughts of easy vengeance and yet some others, the old culprits, would have secretly or overtly lionized the "heroes." Further, who could have undertaken the task of "reformation" of the creatures thus released from bondage? They themselves would have been either defiant or miserable. And what about those of the case who are already undergoing terms of imprisonment? They would have greater title to freedom.

On the whole, it is, we feel sure, right that none of the numerous arguments for unorthodox remedies has prevailed. There is no question of revenge, for nothing can recompense humanity for the loss it sustained by the assassination on January 30, 1948. No punishment that human ingenuity can devise would fit the crime. The men will die for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi the man; that he was a saint is beside the point.

58

Pioneer 13-11-49

GANDHI MEMORIAL LIBRARY PROPOSED

SEQUEL TO NEHRU'S VISIT TO CALIFORNIA 'VARSITY

SAN FRANCISCO, November 10—Pandit Nehru's visit to the University of California has encouraged plans for the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Library in the university now being assembled by the Indian students, according to Motes K. Jagtianie, co-chairman of the Memorial Library Committee.

The drive is a co-operative effort of Indians and Americans to collect complete works on Gandhiji in all languages. Jagtianie said the committee hoped to assemble 2,700 volumes on the Indian leader, including his autobiography.

Donations so far, which have totalled $550 and 40 books since the campaign began in April have come from Americans and Indians in the United States. When completed, the library will become a section of the university library.

Six of the ten members of the Memorial Library Committee are Indians. In addition, there is a faculty advisory group of eight which includes such distinguished men as John B. Condcliffe of the economics department, Peter H. Odegard of the political science department, William R. Dennes of the philosophy department, three members of the sociology and social institutes departments, Librarian Donald Coney, and Arthur H. Tichenor, assistant director of International House.

Such American writers as Vincent Sheean and Pearl Buck are offering their co-operation, Jagtianie said, adding that Governor Earl Warren wrote a letter to the committee commending it for its efforts and offering his good wishes.

Bombay Chronicle 15-11

State Man 15-11-49

CAN'T HAND OVER BODIES OF NATHURAM & APTE

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO RELATIVES

AMBALA, Nov. 14. (PTI):

THE bodies of Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte will not be handed over to their relatives for cremation, it is learnt here.

The Government of India have informed the relatives of the condemned prisoners that the decision already taken by them in regard to the disposal of their bodies cannot be altered.

The brothers of Godse and Apte had telegraphically petitioned the Government of India to allow the bodies to be handed over to them for cremation.

The request of the relations of Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte to allow the condemned prisoners to be photographed before execution tomorrow has been turned down by the Home Ministry, Government of India, the Press Trust of India learned here this evening.

The Government of India has declined to release Gopal Godse, brother of Nathuram Godse on parole, the Press Trust of India learnt this evening. Gopal Godse is at present serving life imprisonment in the Ambala Central Jail.

Dattatraya Godse another brother of Nathuram Godse, has telegraphically petitioned the Home Ministry, Government of India, yesterday, to allow Gopal Godse to be released on parole to enable him to perform the last rites of Nathuram Godse.

DONATION:

The money of Nathuram Godse is reported to have sent Rs. 101 to be donated by him according to his wishes.

Nathuram Godse, it is learnt, has expressed the desire that the money be donated for the erection of "Kailash" (zenith) of the Somanath Temple proposed to be built at its original site by the Government of India.

The relatives of the two condemned prisoners had their final interview with them today lasting four hours.

GODSE'S & APTE'S LAST WISH

AMBALA, Nov. 14. (PTI): Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte have expressed their wish that their ashes should be immersed in the river Indus, according to the relatives of the two condemned prisoners who had their final interview with them today lasting four hours.

GODSE-APTE HABEAS CORPUS PLEA REJECTED

SIMLA, Nov 14.—A habeas corpus petition filed by Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte, condemned to death, and others sentenced to transportation for life in the Mahatma Gandhi murder case praying for the stay of the execution of sentence of death pending decision of this petition, was rejected today by a division bench of the East Punjab High Court consisting of Mr Justice Bhandari and Mr Justice Khosla.

The petitioners had challenged the competence of the Central Government to extend to the province of Delhi the Bombay Public Security Measures Act, and the legality of the constitution of the Special Court to try cases arising out of Mahatma Gandhi's murder.

It was further contended that all proceedings, convictions and sentences passed by the said Special Court were null and void and the arrest and detention of petitioners was against the law.

The jurisdiction of the High Court to hear the appeals and that of the Privy Council to hear a petition for granting special leave was also assailed.

Their lordships, dismissing the petition, observed that "there is no occasion for us to interfere with the execution of the sentences which were awarded after giving the fullest possible opportunity to the petitioners and learned counsel by whom they were represented".

They further observed, "There is no ground whatsoever for reopening a matter which has been adjudicated upon by the Special Judge, a full Bench of this Court and by their lordships of the Privy Council. No new grounds have been taken in this petition which would justify us in directing that the execution of the death sentences be stayed or that the petitioners be ordered to be produced in this court".

An amicus curiae petition filed earlier on similar grounds by an advocate of Ajmer on behalf of the [illegible] was also rejected by their lordships.—PTI.

DISPOSAL OF BODIES OF GODSE & APTE

RELATIVES' REQUEST REFUSED

AMBALA, Nov 14.—The bodies of Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte will not be handed over to their relatives for cremation, it is learnt here.

The Government of India has informed the relatives of the condemned prisoners that the decision already taken on the disposal of their bodies cannot be altered.

Dattatraya Godse had asked the Home Secretary to allow the body of Nathuram Godse to be handed over to his relatives for cremation.

A similar request had been made by Madan Apte, brother of Narayan Apte.

Dattatraya Godse, a brother of Nathuram Godse, had petitioned the Home Secretary, Government of India, to release Gopal Godse on parole for a fortnight to enable him to perform the last rites of Nathuram Godse after his execution. The Government has declined. Gopal Godse is in the Ambala Central Jail and is serving a life sentence.

Nathuram Godse and Apte have expressed the wish that their ashes be immersed in the river Indus, according to the relatives of the two condemned men who had their final interview with them today. The interview lasted four hours.

The relatives' request to allow the condemned prisoners to be photographed before execution tomorrow has been turned down by the Home Ministry, it is learnt.—PTI.

Bharat 16-11-49

56

Retribution

NATHURAM GODSE and Narayan Apte have paid the highest penalty which the law of the land demands for the crime with which they were arraigned and of which they were found guilty. The guilt of these men was the most wicked in history and the retribution which overtook them on Tuesday was, therefore, fully deserved. Those who pleaded that reprieve should be granted to these culprits were indeed misguided, if not perverse. There is no extenuating factor in this premeditated and diabolical crime. The authorities would have been guilty of grave remissness had they succumbed to the clamour for leniency raised by some on behalf of Godse and Apte. What Gandhiji himself would have done in such a situation is wholly irrelevant. No Government is free to interfere with law on the basis of hypothetical considerations. Whatever the validity of the argument that in the eyes of the Mahatma death for death was a primeval method of revenge. Authority could not but let the law take its course especially in the case of men who snatched away a precious life.

One is entitled to hold one's own views on the desirability or otherwise of retaining capital punishment on a nation's statute book; but it would be most illogical and absurd to raise this issue in individual cases. As Mr. Mashruwala pointed out in *Harijan*, if reprieve was to be granted to Gandhiji's assassin, it would have amounted to "abolition of the death penalty without "changing the law". Capital punishment is still part of the law of the land and it was clearly impossible for Government to set it aside in the case of Godse and Apte even out of deference to what Gandhiji might have thought about the fate of these men. Those who seek to glorify Godse as a martyr do not seem to realise the enormity of their anti-social behaviour. It will not augur well for the future of the country if through crooked reasoning foul crimes are exalted as acts inspired by some type of idealism. There would have been a grave miscarriage of justice had the lives of Godse and Apte been spared.

Indian Republic 16-11

NOTES & COMMENTS

GODSE AND APTE

The hanging of Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte brings to an end the sequence of events after the assassination of Gandhiji. The trial in the Red Fort of those connected with the conspiracy was in a sense more dramatic and sensational than the trial of I.N.A. leaders. Godse was the arch criminal who carried out the diabolic plot hatched in several places. He has paid for it with his life. There cannot be any extenuating circumstances to minimise the gruesomeness of the murder. The question of motive does not arise in this case. And it is no use quoting the non-violent gospel of Gandhiji to justify the appeal for a commutation of his sentence. None but the most perverse minds could have conceived harm against the greatest living personality of the world. Had not the assassin's bullet ended Gandhiji's life the latter's wise counsel and valuable advice would have been of inestimable value to us. He died a martyr at the hands of one of his own countrymen. The long arm of the law tracked all those who conspired to kill the Mahatma. The appeal was rightly rejected. The ends of justice have been meted out to the criminals, whatever might be their ideology.

16-11-49

THE TIMES OF INDIA

GODSE & APTE EXECUTED

Nathuram Godse (left) and Narayan Apte (right), who were executed in Ambala Central Jail on Tuesday for the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi.

Bodies Cremated By Prison Authorities

RELATIVES NOT PERMITTED TO BE PRESENT

AMBALA, November 15.

NATHURAM Godse, Mahatma Gandhi's assassin, and Narayan Apte were hanged together from the same gallows at 8 a.m. today in the Ambala Central Jail.

The bodies of Godse and Apte were cremated inside the jail by the prison authorities, it is learned.

The cremation was performed according to Hindu Sanatanist rites, as desired by the prisoners and their relatives.

It is understood that the ashes will be disposed of by the authorities themselves, and the request of the relatives of the condemned prisoners for handing over the ashes to them has been turned down.

The relatives of Godse and Apte were not permitted to be present at the time of the cremation.

At the time of the execution none except the District and jail authorities were allowed to be present, it is understood.

PRAYERS RECITED

Godse and Apte, it is further learnt, after their usual morning duties, recited the 11th and 15th Chapter of the *Bhagwad Gita* and the first four lines of the R.S.S. prayer and took a cup of coffee each before mounting the gallows.

Both the condemned prisoners were taken from their cells at 7-55 a.m.—just five minutes before their execution. They are reported to have made their wills.

Godse died instantaneously, Apte took about two minutes to die. The dead bodies of Godse and Apte were kept hanging for about 20 minutes as a matter of procedure.

Before his execution Godse is reported to have expressed satisfaction at the treatment meted out to him and Apte during their confinement in the Ambala jail.

While walking to the gallows they are reported to have shouted "Akhand Bharat Amar Rahe" and "Vande Mataram". It took them about three minutes to walk up to the gallows.

They took a copy of the *Bhagwad Gita* each in their hands and mounted the gallows with it, it is learned.

Two persons who attempted last night to scale the wall of the Central Jail, have been ordered to be detained under Section 3 of the East Punjab Public Safety Act.—U.P.I. & P.T.I.

55

Hindustan Times 16-11-49

Godse & Apte Executed

AMBALA, Nov. 15.—Mahatma Gandhi's assassin, Nathuram Vinayak Godse, and his co-conspirator, Narayan Apte, were executed at 8 a.m. today in the Ambala Central Jail.

The bodies of Godse and Apte were kept hanging for about 30 minutes, as a matter of procedure. The jail authorities performed the cremation of the bodies inside the jail with Hindu Sanatanist rites in accordance with the wishes of the prisoners and their relatives.

The ashes will be disposed of by the authorities themselves and the request of the relatives of the prisoners for handing over the ashes to them has been turned down.

Five officers who attended the execution left the jail premises six minutes after the execution. No member of the public or the Press was allowed to see the execution.

Both the condemned prisoners were taken from their cells at 7-55 a.m. to the gallows. While walking to the scaffold they are reported to have shouted some slogans.

There was no demonstration of any kind in front of or nearabout the jail premises or in the city or Cantonment.

About 30 people, relatives of the condemned prisoners, interviewed them for four hours yesterday. They included Apte's wife and his two brothers, two brothers of Godse and Godse's sister.

A division bench of the East Punjab High Court yesterday rejected *habeas corpus* petitions filed by Godse and Apte, challenging the competence of the Government of India to extend to the province of Delhi the Bombay Public Security Measures Act, and the legality of the constitution of the Special Court to try cases arising out of Gandhiji's murder.

The Governor-General last Tuesday rejected "mercy" petitions filed on behalf of the two men.

Gandhiji was murdered on the evening of January 30, 1948. The trial began in the Court of Special Judge (Mr. Atma Charan) in Delhi on May 27, 1948, against (1) V. D. Savarkar, (2) Nathuram V. Godse, (3) Narayan D. Apte, (4) Vishnu Karkare, (5) Madanlal Pahwa, (6) Gopal Godse, (7) Dattatraya Parachure, (8) Shankar Kistayya, (9) Gangadhar S. Dandwate, (10) Gangadhar Jadhav, and (11) Suryadeo Sharma (the last three were absconding till recently). Digamber Badge was approver.

Judgment in the case was given on February 10, 1949; Savarkar was acquitted; Godse and Apte were sentenced to death for murder and conspiracy to murder. Accused Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 were given transportation for life. No. 8 was recommended for commutation of the sentence.

The trial lasted from May 27 to December 30, 1948. Evidence of 149 prosecution witnesses was taken. Total sittings numbered 84.

An appeal was made to the East Punjab High Court. The appeal was against conspiracy only. A bench consisting of Justices S. N. Bhandari, G. D. Khosla and Achhru Ram heard the appeal between May 2 and June 6, 1949. The arguments were spread out over 26 sittings. The High Court delivered judgment on June 21, 1949. Justice Achhru Ram gave a separate judgment.

The sentences of Godse and Apte were upheld, and Purachure and Kistayya were acquitted. The sentences of others were confirmed, but Justice Achhru Ram recommended resolution in the sentences of Gopal Godse and Madanlal.

A pauper's appeal was made to the Privy Council, in London, on behalf of the accused. The Privy Council heard it on October 12 and rejected it.

Warrant for the execution was signed by Mr S. S. Dulat, Special Judge, Delhi, on October 26 fixing November 15 as the date for hanging of Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte.

Gandhism As Basis Of World Peace

PACIFISTS' VIEWS

BOMBAY, Nov. 15.—Eleven delegates including five women, to the Pacifist Meeting at Shantiniketan from December 1 to 8 were given a reception by the W.E.C. all-India body here today.

Fourteen delegates to the conference from various countries arrived last Friday and three have already left for Calcutta.

Welcoming the delegates, Madame Sophia Wadia, President of the P.E.N. said: "These men who followed the principles laid down by Mahatma Gandhi were as much the sons and daughters of India as we are for Gandhiji did not belong to us alone but to the whole humanity."

Five of the delegates who addressed the gathering emphasized the need for love and mutual confidence before any real international co-operation could be achieved. They "found out" that Gandhiji's principles alone could pave the way for world co-operation. Gandhiji found that love and trust could conquer all ill-will and hatred.

After the Pacifist conference at Shantiniketan there would be another conference of World Pacifists at Sewagram from December 24 to 31.—P.T.I.

State Mail 16-11

GODSE & APTE EXECUTED IN AMBALA JAIL

AMBALA, Nov. 15.—Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte were executed in Ambala Central Jail at 8 a.m. today.

Officers attending the execution left the jail premises at 8-6 a.m. Both the prisoners were taken from their cells at 7-55 a.m.—five minutes before the execution.

The bodies of Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte were cremated inside the jail by the jail authorities, it was later learnt. The relatives of Godse and Apte were not permitted to be present at the time of the cremation.

The cremation was performed in accordance with Hindu Sanatanist rites and in accordance with the wishes of the prisoners and their relatives.

It is understood that the ashes will be disposed of by the authorities and the request of the relatives of the condemned prisoners to hand over the ashes has been turned down.

Before execution, both the men are reported to have made their wills. Godse is reported to have expressed his satisfaction at the treatment meted out to him and Apte during their confinement in Ambala Jail.

Two persons were arrested while scaling the outer walls of the jail about 11 p.m. yesterday. They come from South India and had been refused interviews with Nathuram Godse and Narayan Apte yesterday by the jail authorities. They have been ordered to be detained under Section 3 of the East Punjab Public Safety Act, it is learnt.

All approaches to the Central Jail were heavily guarded.—PTI.

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54

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THOUGHT FOR THE DAY

Nothing sets a person so much out of the devil's reach as humility.

– JONATHAN EDWARDS.

Wednesday, November 16, 1949

ON THE DOCK

NATHURAM Godse and Narayan Apte have been hanged. The law has taken its full course. The society has been rid of two murderers. Justice according to the accepted standard—which let it be admitted at once is crude and primitive—has been vindicated. The demand of tooth for tooth and eye for eye has been fully satisfied. So far as the assassination of Gandhiji as a man—an ordinary man, a common man—is concerned the chapter is closed. The Judge has done his duty, the lawyers theirs, and the Government have done what all Governments do. Every year thousands of men and women are executed for the crime of murder all over the world, and hundreds in this country. There is nothing uncommon about the hanging of these two wretches. The crime was no doubt heinous. Themselves the products of the Gandhian age they killed the Father of the Nation himself. They orphaned India at a time when the presence of the Mahatma was more than ever necessary. The ship of the new State while tossing about in a raging storm was left without a captain. The crime of the two assassins is not against a person, not against a society, but against an entire nation, against the coming civilization, against humanity. So far as the material aspect of the tragical episode is concerned it is complete.

But what about the moral and spiritual aspect? That, to our mind, is the most important part of the affair. Gandhiji was not an ordinary man. He was not much concerned with the material aspect of his own life or any other matter which concerned him. He had staked his life repeatedly as a Satyagrahi, as a process of evoking moral appeal. He staked his life in Noakhali *while he was walking within the raging fire of the communal* fury. He staked his life in Calcutta while hi[illegible] make India Hindusthan, kill or drive away all Muslims from the land, or keep them as slaves. This sense was born of anger and desperation. The assassins embodied this spirit in them. Gandhiji stood against this violence and unreason like a tower, and he was murdered. Thus Gandhiji was the biggest victim of partition, and the responsibility of his tragical death lay not so much on the two misguided youngmen, as on those who accepted partition.

The two wretched men have paid with their life for the crime they committed. They killed the physical body of the Mahatma out of which rose the sublime spiritual force, which is imperishable and which would remain for all times. That is the supreme legacy which must be taken care of by the present and the future generations. Looked from this point can the execution of the murderers of Gandhiji be supported? Let the Government take a detached view. Supposing Gandhiji was shot at by these two misguided youngmen, wounded but survived, supposing both of them were put up in the court for trial for attempted murder, supposing they were sentenced to death, what would have happened? Would Gandhiji have supported the Government in hanging them? That was the criterion from which history will judge the execution of Godse and Apte, and it is not difficult to foresee what its verdict would be after centuries. These two youths misjudged the greatest man of the world and he was misjudged by millions. They were mad. They were foolish. They were bigots and fanatics. Would it not have been better to allow them to realise the enormity of their crime throughout their life in prison, and to atone for what they have done? That would have made them perpetually stand on the dock. By their execution the leaders and the Government stand on the dock charged for acting against the teachings of the Father of the Nation. Essentially this is the position.

[illegible] doing so [illegible] make [illegible] them realise the justice of the cause? That was why he was always exposing himself to the fury of the worst elements among society. That was why he was as a rule refusing protection offered to him—as he did in Noakhali. He was fully convinced, and inspired all those who however imperfectly followed him with the conviction, that to kill him was not to kill his cause; and whether he lives or dies the cause he espoused must triumph. That happened in Delhi. Godse killed Gandhiji, but the anger of a section of misguided communalists against the helpless minority was quenched with his blood. What about the execution of Godse and Apte from that sublime stand point?

Justice would be done on the bar of history from this point. Petty laws and their provisions are forgotten in the rush of time. None is aware under what law Christ was crucified. There is no record to show how the betrayers of Jesus felt after the great betrayal. But the great incident in the history of man is being judged after two thousand years and would continue to be judged for many thousand years more. But what is being held out for condemnation? Not Pontius Pilate the Governor, nor those who judged him, condemned him and executed him, it was the Roman Empire which still now stands on the dock and takes the condemnation of generations on bended knees. What can be said of an Empire in which Jesus was condemned and executed? And what can be said of a country and a Government in which a Gandhi was murdered? And why he was murdered? The assassins did not want to kill the frail old man to rob him of his earthly possession. Earthly possessions he had which none would covet. Then why he was killed? Because there was partition? The Muslims got Pakistan, a section of misguided Hindus wanted to

53

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Retribution

NATHURAM GODSE and Narayan Apte have paid the highest penalty which the law of the land demands for the crime with which they were arraigned and of which they were found guilty. The most wicked in history and the retribution which overtook them on Tuesday was, therefore, fully deserved. Those who pleaded that reprieve should be granted to these culprits were indeed misguided, if not perverse. There is no extenuating factor in this premeditated and diabolical crime. The authorities would have been guilty of grave remissness had they succumbed to the clamour for leniency raised by some on behalf of Godse and Apte. What Gandhiji himself would have done in such a situation is wholly irrelevant. No Government is free to interfere with law on the basis of hypothetical considerations. Whatever the validity of the argument that in the eyes of the Mahatma death for death was a primeval method of revenge. Authority could not but let the law take its course especially in the case of men who snatched away a precious life.

One is entitled to hold one's own views on the desirability or otherwise of retaining capital punishment on a nation's statute book; but it would be most illogical and absurd to raise this issue in individual cases. As Mr. Mashruwala pointed out in *Harijan*, if reprieve was to be granted to Gandhiji's assassin, it would have amounted to "abolition of the death penalty without changing the law." Capital punishment is still part of the law of the land and it was clearly impossible for Government to set it aside in the case of Godse and Apte even out of deference to what Gandhiji might have thought about the fate of these men. Those who seek to glorify Godse as a martyr do not seem to realise the enormity of their anti-social behaviour. It will not augur well for the future of the country if through crooked reasoning foul crimes are exalted as acts inspired by some type of idealism. There would have been a grave miscarriage of justice had the lives of Godse and Apte been spared.

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Justice

The execution of Godse and Apte, for the murder of Mahatma Gandhi on 30th January 1948, was inevitable, and whatever other considerations might be invoked to bear a sort of illicit influence on the issue, it could not be averted on any principle of law as it prevails in India at present. As Pandit Nehru put it, so long as the death penalty was not abolished from our legal system, and an ordinary man suffered death for an ordinary murder, the commutation of the capital sentence in this case would be wholly unjustified. "It does not seem logical," said the Prime Minister. That persons who commit ordinary murders should be hanged "and a man who assassinates your greatest leader should be "exempted." With that view no fair-minded person will disagree. The only relevant argument which was urged in certain quarters was that it would be against the principle of non-violence for which Gandhiji lived and died, and we have heard the Irishism that if Gandhiji had been alive he would never have permitted the sentence to be carried out. But this is a matter of mere sentiment. So the curtain is now finally rung down upon the greatest tragedy in the modern history of India. The case was simple and its legal aspects obvious. It is a pity that it was perhaps needlessly complicated and protracted.

P.I.O. 8.

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Satyagraha And Gandhian Revolution—II

By SHANKERRAO DEO

India has abjured violence and consequent dictatorial methods to achieve her social and economic objectives. The Russian road, therefore, is closed to her. We have chosen the democratic way and are determined to establish a social order in which justice—social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life. This is a very high aim and in order that we may attain it, we have enthroned them in the constitution. Naturally the model and much of the material are borrowed from the western democracies. We are advised by the wise men of our country that like violence we must abandon satyagraha. They say, when there was no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives there was some, be it noted, not full justification, for the method of civil disobedience, non-cooperation and satyagraha. But now the times are changed. We have got our own constitution and we must hold fast to constitutional methods. In the long and chequered history of the Congress as it progressively changed its aims it changed its means also. Constitutional means gave place to peaceful and legitimate means and peaceful means included civil disobedience and satyagraha.

We came to power on the crest of a peaceful revolution under Gandhiji's leadership. As our Prime Minister in his American tour has emphasised, the world is looking anxiously to India for showing the Gandhian way of life and the Gandhian method of bringing about the social and economic changes. There is nothing Gandhian, I am afraid, about our constitution. If we remain true to our revolution and the ideals for which it was made, the social and economic institutions which will be built in this country must bear the stamp of Gandhian way and programme. Decentralised co-operative economy is one of them; non-violent democratic society is another. Dr. Ambedkar eulogised the sense of order and discipline of the Congress Party in his speech in the Constituent Assembly. This Congress party, one must not forget, is pledged to work in all earnestness so that India may grow in freedom and moral stature and the great objectives for which Gandhiji stood may be fulfilled. Satyodaya is that great objective.

INDIA AND WESTERN DEMOCRACY

Democracy and capitalism started on their career in the west practically at the same time. May, democracy based on individual freedom was born out of the struggle which commerce and industry waged against feudalism. This social philosophy of individualism contained in it many a principle of human progress and culture,—such as individual conscience, freedom of speech and association, political liberty and dignity of human personality, etc. But in spite of these high principles the incidence of her birth made democracy a handmaid of capitals. She became a partner of Capitalism which resulted in intense exploitation at home and abroad, centralisation of power and production, colonial empires and world wars. A keen race for harnessing atomic energy for destructive purposes is going on. Today a growing fear of death envelops the world.

If India fashions her democracy after the model of the west and builds the same pattern of social and economic institutions and leads the same way of life, she cannot escape the nemesis, let alone saving the world. Jawaharlalji in his speech at Columbia University said "I think also that there is always a close relationship between the end we aim at and the means adopted to attain it. Even if the end is right, if the means are wrong, that will vitiate the end or divert it into a wrong direction. Means and ends are thus intimately and inextricably connected and cannot be separated." On his recent mission to discover America our Prime Minister to his great surprise learnt that when America achieved her independence, President George Washington decided to keep out of power-blocs in spite of the revolutionary times in which he was living. And yet to-day America finds herself the leader of one of the two power blocs in which the world finds itself divided. Should we not find out the reasons? Where can that reason be except in her socio-economic institutions and her way of life? Means and ends are intimately connected and cannot be separated.

NON-EXPLOITING SOCIETY

Independent India has decided and rightly so, to remain strictly neutral and not to align with any of the two power blocs. If this policy of neutrality is not to be a mere negative policy but a positive one which will develop in the world the third force of peace, then India, like her Prime Minister, should not think that her choice is necessarily restricted to capitalism or communism. For if we think so, we are sure to pursue such an economic policy as will inevitably draw us to either of these two blocs. We must follow a new track. Our economic policy should neither be capitalistic nor communistic but it should be decentralised co-operative economy based on regional self-sufficiency. Neutrality can be maintained only if we are economically independent. Of course, such independence is not isolation.

For the foreign policy of a nation is only a projection of its domestic policy. You cannot help peace abroad while allowing class struggle based on exploitation at home. A non-exploiting society alone will have the moral force to compel other nations to keep peace. We must build our social and economic institutions on the principle of decentralised power and production on the basis of co-operation.

Unfortunately our newly made constitution hardly provides for building such institutions. It is more centralised than decentralised and therefore there is not much scope for the Gandhian way. But let us not blame others for that, of which we ourselves are the authors. The constitution as the great Mirabeau said, is the mirror of the people. Let us not overrate our exploits. What happened on August 15, 1947 was a mere transfer of power. Though we made the revolution under the leadership of Gandhiji it was not Gandhian. A constitution must speak of that which already exists, of that which has already been achieved and won. It is the registration and legislative enactment of the progress that has already been achieved and secured. Let us not commit the mistake of confusing constitution with a programme. Programme speaks of that, which does not yet exists, of that which has to be achieved and won in the future. It is not too late. We can, if we want, still have a Gandhian programme of decentralised power and production. As Dr. Rajendra Prasad said in his final speech "All those whose fortune it may be to work this constitution will remember that it was a unique victory which we achieved by the unique method taught to us by the Father of the nation, and it is up to us to preserve and protect the independence that we have won and to make it really bear fruit for the man in the street." The man in the street will feel the glow of independence only if he finds that the concern of the state is for his freedom and economic welfare and it does not sacrifice them in the name of security and safety of the nation or a particular class. In the present state of things this is only possible if we follow the Gandhian programme and the Gandhian method.

"GRAMMAR OF ANARCHY"

Yet we are seriously advised to abandon the method of civil disobedience.

(Continued on page 7 col. 4.)

SATYAGRAHA & GANDHIAN REVOLUTION—II

(Continued from page 4.)

non-co-operation and satyagraha. We are warned that these methods are nothing but the grammar of anarchy and the sooner they are abandoned the better for us. When Gandhiji offered Satyagraha as the supreme weapon of self-defence to Britons during the last world war against Hitler's invasion of England we are told that satyagraha can only be justified when no constitutional methods are open for achieving our goal. Little minds go ill with great ideas.

If we have learnt anything from our Master,—to deny satyagraha is to deny the fundamental principle of democracy which is individual conscience and freedom. The ultimate sanction or guarantee of freedom of the individual or the group in democracy is not the constitution but the capacity of the individual or of the group to offer non-violent resistance. Moreover, the present democracy is based on the sacred right of private ownership. This has led to concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few and the political freedom of the many has become barren of the social and economic content.

NEHRU ON SATYAGRAHA

To destroy this power of wealth, people having lost faith in reason and persuasion, have resorted to bloody revolution and in the process have also lost democracy. The world is in a desperate need of a revolutionary weapon which, without killing democracy, will purify it. That weapon can be only non-violent non-co-operation or satyagraha. When Jawaharlalji during his American tour offered the Gandhian way as the only substitute for atom bomb he could have only this in his mind and not constitutionalism. In his speech in the Columbia University he says: "After a generation of intense struggle with a great and powerful nation, we achieved success and perhaps the most significant part of that achievement, for which credit is due to both parties, was the manner of it. History hardly affords any parallel to the solution of such a conflict in a peaceful way followed by friendly and co-operative relations.... I would not presume to offer advice to other and more experienced nations in any way. But may I suggest for your consideration that there is some lesson in India's peaceful revolution which might be applied to the larger problems before the world to-day." Undoubtedly is speaking to a nation which is in full enjoyment of sovereign power. It is quite obvious that he is placing before them the Gandhian technique of a revolution for the solution of international problems. He has the same remedy to offer for the solution of internal social conflicts. In his autobiography he says: "If we can get political freedom and elimination of British imperialism in India non-violently, why should we not also solve the problem of feudal princes and landlords and other social problems in the same way and establish a socialist state?.... Surely, it cannot be said that a non-violent method can only be used against a foreign ruler, prima facie. It should be far easier to use it within a country against conscious selfish interests and destructionists, for the psychological effect on them will be greater than elsewhere." So, whether you are a subject people or a free people, whenever in the solution of problems the method of reasons fails, the Gandhian way asks you to use moral instead of physical force. For when self-interest is concerned intellect cannot be the proper guide. It cannot transcend the individual and the class interests and act disinterestedly. That is why constitutionalism which is based on reason alone has failed to bring about any fundamental social or economic change. Gandhian philosophy backs it by soul force or satyagraha and succeeds through a change of heart in bringing about a rapid social or economic change.

SATYAGRAHA AND ANARCHY

But are you not inviting anarchy and chaos when you talk of satyagraha in a nascent democracy like ours, and, especially, when our people are lacking constitutional morality. Anarchy is the enemy of all progress and, therefore, it must be avoided. But at the same time we must not forget that social anarchy, i.e., social disorder, is merely the outward manifestation of the maladjustment, between the impelling force of man's ideas of progress and his social and economic institutions. A time comes when the shell, instead of being a protection, becomes an obstruction and it has to be broken before a new birth can take place. The same is the case with the social and economic institutions of man. "The old order changeth giving place to new." If the state or the Government try to maintain or impose this old order on the people merely by the force of law and fear of punishment, then there is opposition from the people which either develops into an open violent revolution or deteriorates into disorder or anarchy. The first degrades man and the second destroys him. Gandhiji's satyagraha while guaranteeing rapid social change without resorting to violence and fear of anarchy enobles man. A person rich in moral and cultural wealth can alone be a true satyagrahi. It is not satyagraha which leads to anarchy, but passive resistance of the disarmed people masquerading under the name of satyagraha which results, in the end, in disorder and anarchy.

PRECIOUS LEGACY

The weapon of satyagraha is the most precious legacy which Gandhiji has left to us and we can forget or forsake it only at our peril. But we must remember that the surest foundation of Satyagraha is the service of man and love and goodwill to society. And as this can best be expressed through constructive programme, the constructive workers, inside and outside the Congress, who believe in the Gandhian ideology, should come together. This brooks no delay, because supreme self-complacency on our part alone make us ignore the danger of anarchy or social disorder in the country. To open the way out of this impending crisis is the responsibility of these constructive workers. Because through organised service and satyagraha they alone can bring about a non-violent revolution in the country's economic and social order. And then alone will the country have a right to a constitution which will make the Gandhian way of life practical.—(Copyright).

(Concluded)

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50

GANDHIAN SOCIAL ORDER BASED ON NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE

Sarvodaya Conference Approves Draft Economic Plan

WARDHAGANJ, DEC. 24.—The two-day session of the Sarvodaya Economic Planning Conference, concluded here yesterday, after adopting a resolution approving the draft plan which envisaged the building up of a permanent socio-economic order and establishment of a non -violent society.

The President has been authorised to appoint a small Committee to examine the draft plan in the light of Gandhiji's teachings and principles which should be published with the signature of all delegates before January 30, the second death anniversary of Gandhiji.

The statement of policy of the Sarvodaya Economic Conference visualises that kind of life and society which one should expect and suggests Sarvodaya to draft a policy by which the present economic ills may be removed and steps may be taken towards their ultimate goal.

The policy, it is learnt, aims at providing adequate food and clothing and housing facilities, to every average family for the present and such standard of living which may be indicated by an income of Rs. 100 on the basis of present price level, and suggests the ceiling income should be immediately brought down twenty times the minimum income which again is to be brought down within a reasonable period of time, to ten times.

Ultimately an arrangement of life and society would evolve based on the needs of the people and not their ability.

NEED FOR REMOVAL OF CONTROLS

The Conference is further understood to have posed a resolution stating that controls were injurious to the country, and directing that a Committee be appointed by the chairman of the conference "to do the needful for the removal of control"

"The Chairman of the Conference, Shri Kaka Saheb Kalelkar, it is further understood, will appoint a committee which will work out the policy of statement in details on the basis of facts and statistics and will bring out from time to time tracts and pamphlets to educate public opinion.—U.P.I.

A. B. patricha 30-12

SOCIAL SERVICE

MAHATMA GANDHI OUTlined his conception of Ram Rajya in the *Harijan* in the few following sentences: "Ram Rajya in secular language will mean the people's rule in which there shall be no distinction between rich and poor man and woman, white and coloured and no differences on account of religion or caste. Under such administration land and power will be in the hands of the people and justice will be pure, least expensive and expeditious. There will be freedom of worship, thought and expression and they will be based on self-imposed discipline and sense of duty." Gandhiji brought about a political revolution; but his work did not stop there. He set himself subsequently to accomplish a social revolution so that a classless democracy, his cherished dream, might be established in India. The hand of the assassin cut his precious life short before the Mahatma could make a real beginning of the great endeavour.

Evidently, Gandhiji's emphasis was almost exclusively on popular initiative. The State came into the picture only in an indirect way. The plan of the "five-pronged" mass approach, which Dr. Jivraj Mehta explained on Monday last before the Indian Conference of Social Workers at New Delhi, follows closely the Gandhian lines. The Conference is attended by as many as three hundred experts in social work, some from beyond the seas, whose object on this occasion is primarily to undertake, promote and develop the study of social problems. Dr. Mehta did not, of course, exclude the Government as a factor from his social programme. For, he called for a "supreme" effort by the Government and the people alike to eradicate the "five monsters" of want, disease, ignorance, squalor and unemployment in the country. But his stress on the popular element is strong and unmistakable. Social advance in any form, he said, involved action not by the State alone but by the individual as well whose duty it was to "develop a social conscience and put in his bit of voluntary effort either alone or in conjunction with others."

As he expounded it before the Conference, Dr. Mehta's mass approach plan seeks to raise the standard of living and cultural level of the people at large. The scheme embraces the problems of housing, health, social education and economic uplift through the organisation of co-operatives. The plan, it is to be noted, is identical in many respects with the ideals of the "Sarvodaya" scheme enunciated by Gandhiji, with but one difference. The employment of co-operatives to gain these ends which did not figure in the Gandhian plan marks a welcome departure. The urgent and imperative need for translating all these welfare schemes into realities is more than obvious. The danger that lies in their non-fulfilment or undue delay in putting them into action is also nonetheless manifest. Dr. Mehta did not mince words when he stated: "though we have at present a stable Government in the country, this stability is based on insecure foundations so long as poverty, disease and human suffering continue to blow the smouldering embers of discontent in the community into flames."

There is another ground why the country stands in immediate need of the services of countless social workers. Dr. Jivraj Mehta did not allude to it but that does not go to detract from its overwhelming importance. The Indian Constitution proposes to enfranchise 160 million men and women. In less than a couple of years' time these new electors will be entrusted with the task of electing representatives to the newly formed legislatures, Provincial as well as Central. The future of India will in a very large measure depend upon the kind of representatives they select. "A people gets the Government it deserves". We all are facing the occasion when this old dictum will meet with another test, but on a stupendous scale unprecedented in this country. But are our people fitted, intellectually and morally, to live up to the new responsibility? The answer, unfortunately, must be in the negative. Awakened political consciousness—and of the right type—among the masses is the fundamental pre-requisite of a democracy worth the name. In seven lakh villages that constitute India men and women who may be said to possess that commodity can be counted on one's finger's ends. We are going to launch a bold experiment but the material necessary for its success is not yet ready.

How to stir this vast mass of people, intelligent but inert, and galvanise them into a new life of political and social consciousness and activity? The task is indubitably of great magnitude, but may be undertaken by workers, trained and qualified, scattered in hundreds of thousands throughout the countryside. According to one expert, India needs at least six lakhs of trained and qualified social workers. As against this, Dr. Mehta pointed out, we have only about 15,000 social workers out of which hardly a couple of hundred are properly trained. That, however, need not cause any surprise. The problem of training social workers did not receive adequate attention either at the Centre or in the Provinces or from a national organisation like the Congress. As a matter of fact, it is only Gandhiji's closest disciples who have tried to form a band of self-less workers imbued with his ideal and spirit of service. It will, however, be inaccurate to state that Maulana Azad failed to recognise the importance of training social workers; but much of the plan he formulated was scaled down on the plea of inadequate finances. At present in Delhi some three institutions are training a number of social workers every year. Among the Provinces, Bombay has done something to satisfy the need. But compared to the magnitude of the task, the contributions made by the Gandhites, the Centre and Bombay are mere drops in the ocean.

One word of caution needs be said in this context. The band of social workers, if and when organised on a nation-wide scale, should be taught to swear allegiance to the State, the embodiment of popular will, and not to the Government in the saddle which is but an instrument of the political party in power. Their aim, again, must not be limited to the necessity of effecting the material well-being of the nation they serve and awakening its political and social consciousness. They must have, on the contrary, a far wider horizon. The creed of the social workers ought to be the moral evolution of the Indian society to such a state as would serve to transform Gandhiji's dream of Ram Rajya into a reality.

48

India-EXPRESS · 26-1-50

Thus Spoke OUR FATHER

RIGHTS AND DUTIES

All rights to be deserved and preserved come from duty well done. Thus the very right to live accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world. From this very fundamental statement perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of man and woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty to be first performed. Every other right can be shown to be an usurpation hardly worth fighting for.

If instead of insisting on rights every one does his duty, there will immediately be the rule of order established among mankind. There is no such thing as the divine right of kings to rule and the humble duty of the ryots to pay respectful obedience to their masters.

A wretched parent who claims obedience from his children without first doing his duty by them excites nothing but contempt. If you apply this simple and universal rule to employers and labourers, landlords and tenants, or Hindus and Muslims, you will find that the happiest relations can be established all walks of life without creating disturbance in and dislocation of life and business which you see in India as in the other parts of the world, peace will come in the world only when the bond of labour shared in common holds together different units of the social body.

Side by side with adult franchise or even before that, I plead for universal education, not necessarily literary except as perhaps an aid. English education, I am convinced, has stalved our minds, enervated them and never prepared them for brave citizenship. I would give you all sufficient knowledge in the rich languages of which any country would be proud. Education in the understanding of the rights of citizenship is a short-term affair if we are honest and earnest.

The present distress is undoubtedly insufferable. Pauperism must go. But industrialism is no remedy. The evil does not lie in the use of bullock-carts. What I call the law of Satyagraha is to be deduced from an appreciation of duties and rights flowing therefrom.

IDEAL SOCIETY

Truth and Ahimsa must incarnate in Socialism. In order that they can, the votary must have a living faith in God. Mere mechanical adherence to Truth and Ahimsa is likely to break down at the critical moment. Hence have I said that Truth is God.

This I do say, fearlessly and firmly, that every worthy object can be achieved by the use of Satyagraha. It is the highest and infallible means, the greatest force. Socialism will not be reached by any other means. Satyagraha can rid society of all evils, political, economic and moral.

It follows that what is gained by violence cannot only not be defended by non-violence, but the latter requires the abandonment of ill-gotten gains. Is the accumulation of capital possible except through violence, whether open or tacit? Such accumulation by private persons is impossible except through violent means, but accumulation by the State in a non-violent society is not only possible, it is desirable and inevitable.

What is best is that nobody should possess more than he can himself use. That is the ideal society should strive to reach.

In the non-violent order of the future, the land will belong to the State. Under such dispensation there will be no waste of talents and labour.

If India is to live an exemplary life of independence which will be the envy of the world, all the bhangis, doctors, lawyers, teachers, merchants and others will get the same wages for an honest day's work. Indian society may never reach the goal, but it is the duty of every Indian to set his sail towards that goal and no other if India is to be a happy land.

If all laboured for their bread and no more, then there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. Then there would be no cry of over-population, no disease, and no such misery as we see around. Men will no doubt do many other things either through their bodies or through their minds, but all this will be labour of love for the common good. There will then be no rich and no poor, none high and none low, no touchable and no untouchable. This may be an unattainable ideal. But we need not, therefore, cease to strive for it.

CITIZENSHIP

The whole of India is the home of every Indian who considers himself and behaves as such, no matter to what faith he belongs. The condition for the newcomer is that he must be as sugar is to milk. He must aim at adding sweetness and richness to the life around him.

People in a democracy should be satisfied with drawing the Government's attention to mistakes, if any. They can remove the Government if they wish to. But they should not obstruct them by agitating against them. Ours is not a foreign Government having a mighty army and navy to support them. They have to derive their strength from the people.

He who eats his food without returning its equivalent by means of body-labour is no more than a thief. Permanent It lies in our selfishness and want of consideration for our neighbours. If we have no love for our neighbours, no change, however revolutionary, can do us any good.

GOVERNORS

Whilst I would resent much power of interference to be given to Governors, I do not think that they should be mere figure-heads. They should have enough power enabling them to influence ministerial policy for the better. In their detached position they would be able to see things in their proper perspective and thus prevent mistakes by their Cabinets Theirs must be an all-pervasive moral influence in their provinces.

RIGHT CONDUCT

I have never thought the private life of individuals does not affect the course of the public activities of those individuals. Thus, I do not believe that I can be immoral in private life and yet be an efficient public servant. My public conduct is bound to be affected by my private. I hold that much mischief is made throughout the world by divorce between public and private conduct. And when I am engaged in the supreme test of non-violence in my life, I wish to be judged before God and man by the sum total of my activities, both private and public.

CO-OPERATION

My notion of co-operation is that the land will be held in co-operation by the owners and tilled and cultivated also in co-operation. This will cause a saving of labour, capital, tools, etc. The owners will work in co-operation and own capital, tools, animals, seeds, etc., in co-operation. Co-operative farming of my conception will change the face of the land and banish poverty and idleness from our midst. All this is only possible if people become friends of one another and live as one family. When that happy event takes place there will be no ugly sore in the form of a communal problem.

Co-operation should be based on strict non-violence. There is no such thing as success of violent co-operation. Hitler was a forcible example of the latter. It will be a sad thing if India tries to build up a new society based on co-operation by means of violence. Good brought about through force destroys individuality.

THE PLACE OF CASTE

Caste as it is understood must go if Hinduism is to survive. I do not believe that Christianity and Islam are progressive and Hinduism static, i.e., retrogressive. As a matter of fact, I notice no definite progress in any religion. The world will not be the shambles it has become if the religions of the world are progressive. There is room for varna, as a duty. This is true of all religions, even if the name used is other than varna. What is a Muslim maulvi or a Christian priest but a Brahmin if he teaches his flock its true duty not for money but because he possesses the gift of interpretation? And this is true of the other divisions.

RELIGION & STATE

State interference in religion will probably always be unwelcome. Religion is purely a personal matter. There are in reality as many religions as minds. Each mind has a different conception of God from that of the other.

I am also opposed to State aid partly or wholly to religious bodies. For I know that an institution or group, which does not manage to finance its own religious teaching, is a stranger to true religion. This does not mean that the State schools should not give ethical teaching. The fundamental ethics are common to all religions.

We have suffered enough from state-aided religion and a State Church. A society or a group, which depends partly or wholly on State aid for the existence of its religion, does not deserve or, better still, does not have any religion worth the name.

I do not believe that the State can concern itself or cope with religious education. I believe that religious education must be the sole concern of religious associations.

WOMEN

There is no occasion for women to consider themselves subordinate or inferior to men. Languages proclaim that woman is half of man and by parity of reasoning man is half of woman. They are not two separate entities but halves of one. The English language goes further and calls woman the better half of man. Therefore I advise women to resort to civil rebellion against all undesirable and unworthy restraints. All restraints to be beneficial must be voluntary. There is no possibility of harm resulting from civil rebellion. It presupposes purity and reasoned resistance.

PUBLIC SERVANTS

The police, like the scavengers, should never go on strike. Theirs is an essential service and they should render that service irrespective of pay.

There are many other effective and honourable means of getting grievances redressed. If I am a Cabinet Minister, I will offer the strikers nothing whatever under the threat of a strike, which implies force. I would give them the choice of impartial arbitration, without any condition.

MESSAGE OF ASIA

The message of Asia is not to be learnt through Western spectacles or by imitating the atom bomb. If you want to give a message to the West, it must be the message of love and the message of truth. I do not want merely to appeal to your head, I want to capture your heart.

In this age of awakening of the poorest of the poor, you can redeliver this message with the greatest emphasis You will complete the conquest of the West not through vengeance because you have been exploited, but with real understanding. I am sanguine if all of you put your hearts together—not merely heads—to understand the secret of the message these wise men of the East have left to us, and if we really become worthy of that great message, the conquest of the West will be completed. This conquest will be loved by the West itself.

The West is today pining for wisdom. It is despairing of a multiplication of the atom bombs, because atom bombs mean utter destruction not merely of the West but of the whole world, as if the prophecy of the Bible is going to be fulfilled and there is to be a perfect deluge It is up to you to tell the world of its wickedness and sin—that is the heritage your teachers and my teachers have taught Asia.

(—At the Inter-Asian Conference in 1947).

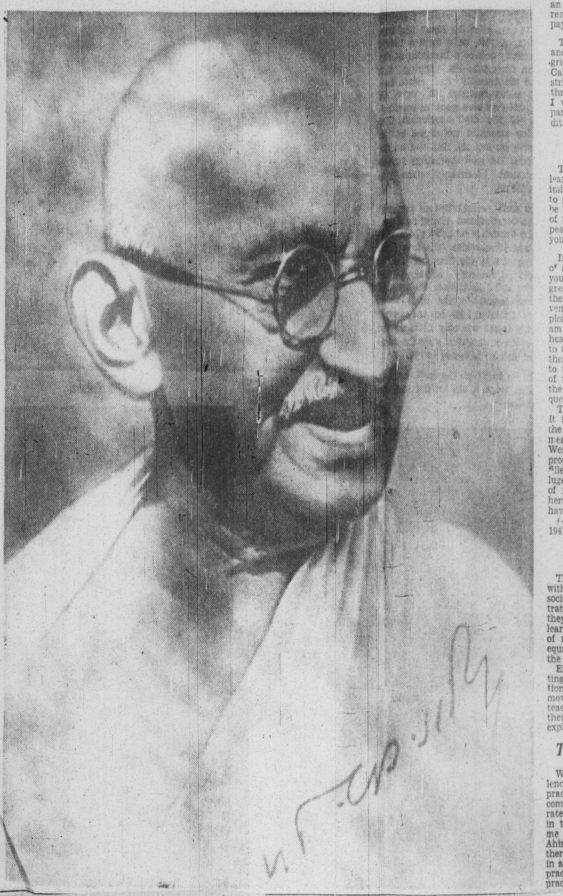
RICH AND POOR

The rich cannot accumulate wealth without the co-operation of the poor in society. If this knowledge were to penetrate to and spread among the poor, they would become strong and would learn how to free themselves by means of non-violence from the crushing inequalities which have brought them to the verge of starvation.

Exploitation of the poor can be extinguished not by effecting the destruction of a few millionaires, but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non-cooperate with their exploiters. That will convert the exploiters also.

TRUTH AND AHIMSA

We have to make truth and non-violence matters not for mere individual practice but for practice by groups and communities and nations. That at any rate is my dream. I shall live and die in trying to realise it. My faith helps me to discover new truths every day. Ahimsa is the attribute of the soul and therefore to be practised by everybody in all the affairs of life. If it cannot be practised in all departments it has no practical value.



The Free Press Journal

BOMBAY, MONDAY, JANUARY 30, 1950.

IN MEMORIAM

Today we commemorate the greatest tragedy of modern India.

On January 30, 1948, the greatest man of the age, the Apostle of non-violence, became the victim of an assassin's bullet.

We are today enjoying the fruits of Mahatma Gandhi's work.

The Purna Swaraj for which he suffered and sacrificed, for the attainment of which he remoulded the nation, is today an accomplished fact.

India today is fully independent in the political sense.

But Mahatmaji's work is only half complete.

Political independence was not the ultimate aim of his strivings.

It was but one step in his programme for the full emancipation of India.

This programme will be complete only when there is absolute social and economic equality, giving to each man and woman in the country the opportunity to develop his or her individuality to the fullest extent possible.

We cannot say that we are anywhere near the attainment of this happy state.

Indeed, we cannot but admit with shame, that in some respects we have gone backward rather than forward.

The clear brilliance of Mahatmaji's ideals have been somewhat dimmed in the two years that have passed since his death.

Untouchability has ceased to exist in law.

But we have not yet been able to abolish the pernicious system of caste, the system to which untouchability is due.

The ex-untouchables are still far from being on a plane of social and economic equality with those who are better placed.

The constructive programme on which Mahatmaji pinned his faith for raising the economic condition of the villages is almost dormant.

Factions and groups have raised their heads all over the country.

Mahatmaji had no doctrinaire objection to wealth.

But wealthy men, according to him, should consider their wealth as a trust and administer it accordingly.

Now we are seeing wealthy men so absolutely engrossed in their wealth and in the selfish uses to which they want to put it, that they are not even allowing it to be used for fear that it might make society as a whole stronger.

We have lost the inspiration that Mahatmaji gave us.

It is all the more incumbent on us, on this day when we remember his sacrifice, to recapture what we can of that inspiration.

Mahatma Gandhi believed in the individual.

If the individual is true and strong in spirit, everything can be achieved. This was his guiding principle.

If everyone of us decides to make ourselves worthy of the leadership he gave us, the troubles that confront us will disappear like mist before the morning sun.

SARVODAYA

Towards the end of his life, when he knew that political independence was sure, Mahatma Gandhi's ideas turned to the use to be made of that independence.

He wanted to work for the development of the whole man, for the development of man's spiritual and physical capacities in every way.

The result was the Sarvodaya plan.

Unfortunately Mahatmaji was removed before he could enunciate any clear schemes.

The idea of Sarvodaya remained.

Recently two Sarvodaya Conferences were held at Wardha.

A Sarvodaya Planning Committee was appointed and it has now produced a report.

Sarvodaya is a great ideal, worthy of the great mind that conceived it.

It may not be possible for men of lesser mould to fill in the details of the broad plan sketched by the master mind.

Even making allowances for this, it is difficult to consider the "Principles of Sarvodaya Plan" issued by the Planning Committee, a satisfactory document.

Mahatmaji's Sarvodaya was racy of the soil.

It was evolved out of the needs of India.

It might have been of universal application.

But it was first to be applied to India, to alleviate the trials and tribulations of the half-starved and oppressed Indian villager.

Mahatmaji's approach was, therefore, purely Indian.

The Sarvodaya Planning Committee, however, has taken up an altogether different point of view.

The introductory chapter gives us a sketch of the development of society which is purely European in outlook.

The authors refer even to the breaking of the "bonds of the family, the church, the King, the Baron, the guild, the slave owner, and the harnessing of nature to fruitful channels which mark the advent of modern times."

When did all this take place in India?

Finally, we are presented with Sarvodaya as something like an alternative to Marxism.

The body of the report makes an attempt to integrate Sarvodaya with modern large-scale State economics.

Needless to say, the attempt is not a success.

The Planning Committee wants an Economic Civil Service which will supervise the execution of Sarvodaya plans.

All this is to look at the problem through the wrong end of the telescope.

If Sarvodaya is to be a success, it should grow from the individual and the village upwards to a co-operative commonwealth.

It should not start from a centralised state and descend downwards to the village and the villager.

Yet, this is what will happen if the Planning Committee's scheme is carried out.

Sarvodaya should start with inspired work with the individual.

If he is of the right spirit, everything else will follow.

GANDHIJI'S EXPERIMENTS IN NON-VIOLENCE

(Continued from page 4 column 6)

for which India had long waited as a red letter day in Indian history. He exhorted the people to abstain from jubilation, rejoicing, and other exuberant manifestations. The proper way of observing solemn occasions, as enjoined by Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity alike, was by fasting rather than feasting. They should, therefore, utilize the occasion to turn the searchlight inward and have nothing but the friendliest feeling towards all, even those who might be opposed to them. "All those who are born in this country and claim her as the Motherland . . . are brothers. Our mortal mother, who gives us birth, is entitled to our reverence and worship. Such worship purifies the soul. How much more worthy of our allegiance and reverence must our Mother be then—the Imperishable Mother on whose breast we are born and will die".

78TH BIRTHDAY GREETINGS

After that he was anxious to return to his Ashram at Sevagram but was prevailed upon by the members of the new Government to prolong his stay at Delhi and give them the benefit of his sage advice and guidance at the threshold of the new era. And so, through the month of September in the grilling heat and choking dust of the imperial city. The 78th birthday fell on the second of October according to the English calendar. It brought a shower of greetings from all over the world. One of the most touching, perhaps, was from Lord Pethick-Lawrence. "Gandhiji!" he wrote, "the month of October brings the anniversary of your birth into this world of conflict—conflict between powers of good and evil . . . .

"Your life and being have enriched the human race and will always remain as part of the Light which shines in the darkness. May all faith and joy be yours at the time of the celebration of your birthday!"

But God has His own way of answering men's prayers. The Muslim League came into the Interim Government on October 15, Gandhiji now felt free to return to Sevagram where a number of appointments were awaiting him, and a date was fixed for his departure. But Providence had willed it otherwise. On October 15 came the news of widespread communal disturbances in Noakhali. An indescribable darkness seized his soul and instead of returning to Sevagram he set out for Noakhali. Little did anyone dream then that he was setting out on a "Do or Die" mission which, in its turn, would become the precursor of a series of "Do or Die" missions to end only on that fateful Friday on January 30, 1948, when he crossed the bar and passed from the darkness of the soul into the presence of that

> "light unsufferable,
> And that far-beaming blaze
> of majesty"

There were many hurdles to be crossed before he could get to Noakhali. Each one of them carried a challenge which might have baffled any ordinary mortal. Shaheed Suhrawardy stopped him in Calcutta. Many mistrusted his motives. Gandhiji's answer was to "go into his pocket" and to agree to postpone his visit to Noakhali while the peace of the City that had for months before been burning was consolidated. Thereby he put upon the Chief Minister the onus and burden of preserving the peace in Noakhali. The four days' work which he put in in Calcutta in collaboration with the Chief Minister proved to be pregnant with results and indeed laid the foundation of all his subsequent work in Noakhali. An even more serious challenge was that of Bihar. He met it by mortgaging his life to insure the safety and protection of the Muslim community in Bihar.

In Noakhali he began by "burning his boats" and declaring that he could not leave that place till real heart-unity had been established between the Hindus and Muslims in Noakhali. The prospect was none too reassuring. The Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries of the Muslim League Government of Bengal, who had undertaken to stay with him in Noakhali and implement the declarations which they had made with the consent and backing of the Muslim League Government, left him after a few days and never returned. The opposition of the Muslim League organization in Noakhali against the continuation of his stay there swelled and swelled, and in the end the Chief Minister of Bengal himself joined in the chorus demanding that he leave Noakhali and transfer his activities to Bihar. The further he ventured out into the uncharted sea of the dark unknown, the stormier and more unfathomable it seemed to become. Colleagues and co-workers in India felt perturbed to see him getting into deeper and deeper waters while the fate of India was being decided as they felt, in New Delhi. The Noakhali situation could not be remedied while discord prevailed at the top. And the situation at the Centre was daily becoming more and more hopelessly tangled.

COMMON NEEDS

Gandhiji felt otherwise. So far as political action for solving the communal question was concerned, he felt there was no further room for a move on his part without involving a surrender of what to him was a basic principle. In Noakhali there was room and plenty of it for action amongst the masses of Hindus and Muslims. Their needs were common, their difficulties and problems were common and admitted of a common solution. He would go and live in their midst, become one of them, teach them to better their lives, banish ignorance, poverty and disease and share with them the faith in and worship of one God Who is the same for both Hindus and Muslims. When he had thus entered their mind and helped them to enter into his mind, then would perhaps come the time when the atmosphere would change and sweetness prevail between Hindus and Muslims where sourness prevailed before. When the Muslims would see the underlying unity between what he was doing and his attitude in regard to the proposition which he was contesting with them, the latter would lose its sting. As with the atom, so with the universe. If real peace could be established in any distant corner of India, it would start a chain reaction which would fill the whole of India, nay, the whole world.

"My Ahimsa is neither maimed nor weak. It is all-powerful. Where there is Ahimsa, there is Truth and Truth is God. How He manifests Himself, I cannot say. All I know is that He is all-pervading and where He is, all is well. There is, therefore, one law for all. Wherever in the world Truth and Non-violence reign supreme, there is peace and bliss. That these exist nowhere shows that they are hidden from man for the time being. But they cannot disappear for ever. That faith must sustain the faithful", he had declared on the eve of his departure to Noakhali. To test that philosophy and that faith he had gone to Noakhali. And now the magic did not seem to work. The fault could not be in the weapon, he argued, which was unfailing, but in himself or in his capacity to wield it. Satyagraha he held to be an exact science with laws as objective and precise as that of physical science. But to discover them one has need of uttermost purity and infinite patience, which in practice means reducing oneself to zero and entirely throwing oneself upon God. He divested himself of his companions and took up sojourn in a solitary semi-devastated hut in the tiny, riot-scarred village of Srirampur, to test himself through a series of tests, some small, some big, and some altogether transcendental. Not satisfied with that, after a month he set forth on his non-stop pilgrimage in Noakhali on foot from hut to hut and from village to village on a one-night-one-village plan. And when he felt the call, he proceeded to Bihar—not under anybody's dictation but because he had convincing evidence that his presence in Bihar was necessary for the well-being of the riot-affected Muslim minority there.

PANACEA FOR ILLS

All this while the Noakhali situation had continued to present the appearance of a stalemate. That was not his concern. His concern was with himself. Was his surrender to His will complete? He began to depend more and more upon the efficacy of Ram Nam or the recitation of God's name as a panacea for all his physical ills, stopped taking all drugs and medicines, and refused to let his blood pressure be taken by his medical attendants. His refusal after the first bomb explosion at Birla House to let anybody coming to attend his evening prayer gatherings be searched for hidden weapons in spite of earnest entreaties of Sardar Patel was again in keeping with and an integral part of this attitude. While at prayer, above all, when he had put himself under God's sole protection, he wanted no other protection, or else his faith in the former was a make-believe and a farce. As his self-surrender to God deepened, the potency of his non-violence grew more and more irresistible. It was demonstrated during his Calcutta fast, and in a still greater measure during his last Delhi fast when the spontaneous flood of congratulatory messages and telegrams from Pakistan at its successful termination, while the soil under the feet was still sodden with communal bloodshed of the most unprecedented magnitude, reflected all the character of an atomic chain reaction.

Partition had come in spite of him. He had accepted it as a fait accompli. But if there was true non-violence in his even partition could be made to shed its virus and the fundamental unity of mankind to assert itself among the Hindus and Muslims of India in spite of the partition. A Muslim leader of Pakistan who met him soon after envisaged a 50-mile procession of Hindus returning to Pakistan with Gandhiji at the head, and the idea enthralled him. There was the Kashmir feint. He had accepted it even as he had the partition, not that he was reconciled to it or had in any way changed his fundamental attitude on war and the possibility of eliminating it by non-violent mass action; but because he was still engaged in perfecting the weapon—which though it had demonstrated its matchless efficacy so far in the struggle for India's independence needed to be rebuilt or perhaps refashioned to perform the duty that now confronted it in the new set-up. That it could be so redesigned he had not the slightest doubt in his mind, as the present writer can testify. He had a rough idea as to how he would proceed. He even felt that he was perhaps on the brink. It was not given to him to conduct his experiment further to its successful issue. The object of this article is to bear witness that he regarded its success as a present possibility and to give an inkling of the technique with which he was working.

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GANDHIJI'S EXPERIMENTS IN NON-VIOLENCE

A STUDY OF HIS TECHNIQUE

(BY MR. PYARELAL)

IN March of 1946 Gandhiji was staying in Urulikanchan, an idyllic little village near Poona, to engage in his pet hobby of nature cure, which in the evening of his life had become a passion with him. In the last week of that month he received a pressing personal message from the British Cabinet Delegation to meet them at Delhi. The special messenger bringing the message was miraculously saved only by the late arrival of his chauffeur, so that he missed the RAF plane by which his seat was booked, and which half an hour later was reported to have crashed, all the occupants being instantly killed.

It was the hour of India's destiny. Ever alert like a sentinel in his watch tower, he had been carefully observing the signs of the time. The speech of Mr Attlee in the House of Commons debate on March 15, 1946, had for the first time removed, so far as declaration of British policy was concerned, the main hurdles that had all along stood in the way of Indian independence. "There is little doubt", he mused in the weekly columns of Harijan "that India is about to reach her promised goal of entering into independence. Let the entrance be prayerful". And in his characteristic way suiting the action to the word, he decided that hereafter during the visits to Bombay and Delhi he would put up, not in the palatial residences of the rich, but in Harijan quarters. "Indian slavery under the British rule is hardly two countries old" he exclaimed, "yet we are impatient to see it ended here and now. How dare we, now that India is on the threshold of the Promised Land, ask Harijans to subsist on the promise of a distant Utopia? The emancipation of the Harijans cannot wait. It must be now or never".

For months before he had been preparing for the event. What exercised his mind was "how the millions would react to the first shock of freedom". As he watched the delirious enthusiasm and devotion of the crowds that greeted him wherever he went, he asked himself the question, "Does it spell violence or non-violence? Unless the people are properly trained and organized in non-violent behaviour" he declared, "they will not be able to make much of freedom, and it might even prove to be a questionable boon". And so he turned his extensive tours in South India and Bengal in the winter of 1946 into tours of inspection and study of crowd behaviour. He instituted the practice of delivering addresses on the topics of the day in the setting of prayer, and of miss singing of Ramdhun to the accompaniment of rhythmical beating of time with the hands as a means of inculcating non-violent mass discipline. It was a revolutionary innovation in the technique of non-violence. It remained an unused weapon to the end. He had not the time to develop it, but from the experience that he had of it, he was convinced that it had boundless application in organizing non-violent mass action.

The Cabinet Delegation continued their labours through the months of April, May, and June and then on June 29 left Delhi to return home and report. After their departure, Lord Wavell continued the effort which they had instituted.

QUEST FOR TRUTH

To Gandhiji the handling of the British Cabinet Mission became another experiment in his endless quest for truth. To man is given control over his actions only. If his actions are an unadulterated expression of truth that is within him, then all will be well. And so he intensified all the more his ceaseless endeavour at self-introspection and self-purification which had always been an essential part of his life and which made his daily life an unbroken spell of worship at the shrine of Truth which is God. Truth to him meant not merely verbal truth, but complete accord between one's principles and practice, between one's thought, word and deed.

Daily he held a silent court within himself and called himself to account for the littlest of his little acts. Nothing was too small to escape his scrutiny. For instance, it had been an old practice of his to sell by auction after the evening public prayer ornaments presented to him for Harijans. He had discontinued the practice to save time, but it made him feel unhappy to think that he was saving his time at the cost of Harijans—his special wards—and so he resumed it. Then on a rainy Saturday evening prayer was held under a dripping shamiana and the auction was omitted as the crowd was much smaller than usual. But afterwards he found fault with himself for it. Did it not betoken lack of faith to fear that the auctions would be low because the crowd was small? His South African friend, Downes, scheduled to speak from a church pulpit at 7 p.m. in Durban, had begun to address at the stroke of seven with an audience of only one. That was faith.

On the occasion of his 78th birthday according to the Indian calendar on September 22, a comrade had thoughtlessly arranged to get Dr Rajendra Prasad, the then Food Member, to distribute sweets to Harijan children. To Gandhiji this seemed a criminal waste of food when the poor were threatened with famine. His indignation flared up and he let himself go. That day he made a double expiation—for the lapse of his co-worker and for his own loss of equanimity. He was in the habit of giving menu instructions for each meal, the menu being strictly regulated according to his physical condition, conditions of rest and work in prospect, mental strain and such other factors. That evening he scribbled out instructions that the juice of sour limes instead of the usual orange juice was to be served with his milk. What right had he to use oranges when he could possibly do with sour limes and jaggery? His diary for that day contained the following entry: "I was angry . . . . I have to consider what my duty under the circumstances is. It seems to be so very hard to maintain detachment of mind in the midst of this raging fire. My heart-searching continues". To a close friend he remarked, "I am filled with agitation. Why could not I suffer this inner anguish with untruffled calmness of spirit? I am afraid I have not the detachment required for living up to 125 years . . . . Success is impossible without infinite patience. A burning passion coupled with uttermost detachment is the key to all success".

On still another occasion, in the course of his delicate mission, he found himself nodding. The nod consisted in being over-hasty in reading a document hurriedly put into his hands by the Nawab Sahib of Bhopal though there was no occasion for hurry. He fancied it was all right when it was not. Luckily the mistake was detected in time and no harm came out of it. But it shook him to his depths. He arraigned himself before the tribunal of his conscience and accused himself of gross negligence, "which is criminal in a public man". Not satisfied with it, he made a confession of his error before the evening prayer gathering. "Friends might say that it was no sin but a mere oversight—a trivial mistake. I draw no distinction between error and sin. To confess an error or sin as soon as it is discovered is to purge it out. . . . If a man commits a bona fide mistake and confesses it with a contrite heart before his Maker, the Merciful Maker sterilizes it of all harm".

And, as an aid to self-introspection, he took to indefinite silence for normal purposes to be broken only to address the evening prayer gatherings or when it might be necessary for his mission in Delhi.

Applying the same test of truth to the Cabinet Mission's May 16 announcement, he posed the question, "Did it or did it not mean what it said?" He likened it to a promissory note whose worth depends entirely on its genuineness. There were obvious contradictions in it, but if the assurances conveyed to the ear were not intended to be broken to the heart, he argued, it must be capable of an interpretation that would remove all contradictions and inconsistencies. And giving full credit to the Cabinet Mission for their bonafides he proceeded to interpret their May 16 announcement accordingly, thus rescuing the situation from a stalemate for the time being.

And so on August 24, 1946, the Interim Government at the Centre was formed, with Pandit Nehru as Vice-President, and on September 2 the Congress Ministers took office after receiving Gandhiji's blessing at an impressive little ceremony at Bhangi Niwas.

For Gandhiji it was a day of deep heart searching. In the early hours of the morning, while most slept, he woke up and wrote out a short message addressed to Pandit Nehru instructing the members of the new Government in their duties. He reminded them that they must in the hour of fulfilment redeem the pledges which they had made when the Congress was in the wilderness. These related to khadi, communal unity, prohibition, removal of the Salt Tax, and total abolition of untouchability. Amplifying the substance of his remarks at the evening prayer gathering, he hailed the auspicious occasion

(Continued on page 5 column 5)

REDISCOVER THE GANDHIAN WAY

By
NARADA

TWO YEARS ago was perpetrated the blackest deed in human history. That black fearful night is before us again in all its blackness, its void, its vividness of despair. Time cannot blunt the edge of that sorrow or dull the sense of that vividness. But remembrance days are mere empty shells if they fail to capture the spirit whose memory they invoke.

When over a million orphaned mourners, seeing the flames consume the frail body that had housed the mighty spirit, exclaimed in unison: *Materam Gandhi: amara ho gae*, they only anticipated the verdict of history. For, even during his lifetime, Gandhiji had become a legend by bestriding the consciousness of humanity like a colossus, his feet firmly planted on earth, the refuge of the lowliest and the lost, his head crowned with the stars. In an age torn asunder by war and bloodshed, in a world where the law of the jungle has prevailed and violence has been enthroned, in a form of society where law has superseded public opinion and conscience, Gandhiji helped to restore faith once more in man's innate dignity and in the supreme authority of the inner voice in man through the doctrine of love and service, of suffering and sacrifice. He was the living architect of India's fortune. Out of dust, he made us into men. In the hour of the nation's need, he appeared like an angel radiant with ardour divine. Languor was not in his heart; weakness was not in his word; weariness was not on his brow. At his voice, panic and despair fled away. He moved through the ranks, recalled the stragglers, refreshed the outworn, re-inspired the brave. He led the nation from darkness to sunshine.

Transforming Touch

Gandhiji touched life at many points. By his teaching, the inebriate became abstemious. Through his benediction, the harlot became a housewife. Under his direction, the drone became a labourer. His one act of renunciation ennobled poverty; his one whisper emancipated the slave; his one breath transformed woman from a chattel into a sentient being. He was a cosmopolitan but was primarily a Hindu. He was a social reformer but was essentially a conservative. He was for rural resuscitation but was not a pilgrim back to primitive faith. He loved the village but did not hate the town. He battled with Britain but befriended the Briton. He abhorred all sin but never antagonised the sinner.

"Today there is greater need than ever before for a proper understanding of the man, for conforming to the ideals and the basic truths in which he saw the salvation of mankind. We are living in a singular moment of history, a moment of crisis in the literal sense of the word. In every branch of activity, material and spiritual, we seem to have arrived at a critical turning point. Those who have surveyed the scene have given us different answers about the cause and cure of our ailing civilisation. Gandhiji tells us that we who constitute the social order are the disease and that we must change if civilisation is to survive. That is his message and let each individual ask himself today—the day of remembrance—to what extent his life has been influenced by that message during the last two years. Let this be a day of honest heart-searching and not of emotional, public exhibition of our grief at the passing of Gandhiji. For Gandhiji is immortal.

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What he stood for, preached and practised is invested with a deathless quality. Time has discredited heroes as easily as it has forgotten everyone; but the saints remain. Gandhiji is eternal because he identified himself with the fundamentals of life fundamentals which never vary. Here is his confession of faith: "I have no desire for the perishable kingdom of earth. I am striving for the Kingdom of Heaven, which is spiritual deliverance. For me the road to salvation lies through incessant toil in the service of my country and of humanity. I want to identify myself with everything that lives. In the language of the Gita, I want to live at peace with both friend and foe. So my patriotism is for me a stage on my journey to the eternal freedom and peace."

No assassin's bullet can end that pilgrimage but there is danger of our being lost in a world bereft of his guidance. It will be hypocritical to say that we followed Gandhiji when he was with us in the flesh. His way of life demanded a total, immense and unanimous sacrifice of self, to which very few could respond. Moreover, the radiance of such sacrifices did not hold out any immediate hope of transforming the world. Not many had the heroism to accept without reservation the Gandhian creed, for only a few are sustained and exalted by a faith like that of Gandhiji. To expect men made of common clay to rise to the stature of a Gandhiji, whose mental and moral height was far above the common level of humanity, is to ask for the impossible. But surely it is feasible to emulate his self-discipline, his burning patriotism, his love for truth and his faith in the masses. His conception of God has universal appeal. "God is Love," says Gandhiji. "He is tolerance incarnate. He is the greatest Democrat the world knows." To worship God as Gandhiji saw Him is to ensure inner harmony and democratic happiness in the world.

Meaning Of Life

The years to come are likely to be full of trials and tribulations for India. Forces of darkness are jostling to come to the surface in an upsurge of general suffering. If that catastrophe is to be averted, a more potent force has to be unleashed to counter these evils. And where are we to turn except to the Master for our moral rearmament in the interests of survival? Gandhiji had laboured to teach the world at large three things—to work in love and for love; to work without violence; and to work with the hands and not merely with the brain for the building of a full life which fully engages the faculties. To reject his teachings sneeringly as an impracticable Sunday sermon or worse still to pay only lip homage to his gospel is to blast the hope of our regeneration. To follow him not necessarily to the letter but in spirit, to be afire with the compelling urge of his ideals is to find the meaning and purpose of life, strained of all its dross.

No easy hope or lies will bring us to our goal
But iron sacrifice of body, will and soul;
There is but one task for all, for each, one life to give:
Who stands if freedom fall, who dies if India live?

Taking Sarvodaya Ideal To The Masses

By
Acharya Vinoba Bhave

IT was decided to hold melas at all places where Gandhiji's ashes were immersed. Such melas were held throughout India on the 12th February last year (1949) and will continue to be held every year. A mela was held on the banks of the Dham river also, but it did not appear to have been previously organised. It was, of course, attended by a large number of people from the nearby villages and also adjoining districts. I do not know who made arrangements for this particular function, but as it is a Sarvodaya mela, it should be organised on behalf of all. It is not desirable to entrust it to any single section or group. The best thing would be to entrust it to those who believe in constructive programme. People also expect it to be so. This applies to every one of its kind throughout India.

One special feature of the mela here, which I liked most, was that the people brought bunks of handspun yarn as their offering. I heard later that many more would have done likewise if only they had known it. From this and other defective arrangements, it would appear that there was not sufficient publicity of the programme of celebration. Even the loudspeakers installed there did not work and the people could not hear well. This is only by way of illustration. What I wish to say is that this idea of offering hanks is commendable and should be organised properly. Those who offered hanks did give an appreciable number, but in my opinion each one should offer only one hank. It is not wrong to give or accept more. But one hank each is enough for the occasion. If one spins more, he can use the yarn for himself or contribute it separately to the Charkha Sangh, which will utilise it for the poor. But if each one gives one hank, it will also be possible to find out how many brought the offering.

Though personally pilgrimages do not interest me much, by innovations like this, it will be possible to place before the country a different and better conception of what pilgrimages ought to be like. This is also likely to give an impetus to the reform and revitalization of other pilgrimages which have become more or less like tamashas. The workers should go from village to village and explain to the people the idea of offering hanks. If this succeeds, a good convention will take root and every child of India will be inspired to offer something or other for the sake of his country. In course of time it may happen that none will go there without a hank of yarn. I am not suggesting that none can go without a hank, but when it becomes a convention, people would like to observe it.

Through this offering of hanks, the idea of worship through work would be spread and people would develop a truly spiritual outlook. Just as I do not favour the offer of more than one hank, I should also discourage money-contributions. The idea in restricting the offerings to one hank is to give expression to the idea of equal regard and at the same time to encourage cloth self-sufficiency. It would encourage the idea that what we produce by our own labour is the best offering and this kind of sacrificial offerings would give dignity to physical labour instead of money. Otherwise, such places would become centres of greedy people and this would breed evil. We would be saved from all these evils if we do not accept money.

(Courtesy *Harijan*.)

The Nation

MONDAY, JANUARY 30, 1950.

GANDHIJI

TO-DAY IS THE SECOND ANniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's tragic death. The time that has elapsed since the tragedy has not helped to soothe the poignancy of grief which convulsed the country at the loss.

Never did the greatness of Gandhiji come into more prominent relief than when he resolved to absorb the deadly poison which the Mountbatten brand "independence" generated in the country and threatened to destroy the fabric of our national life. Forces of corruption and communalism that were let loose in the country by British imperialism proved too strong even for Mahatmaji. But he never faltered.

It was Mahatma Gandhi who had roused the slumbering masses in India from the torpor of ages. He infused new courage and hope into the hearts of the submerged people. His innate faith in the ultimate triumph of moral forces over the forces of evil and disruption sustained his spirit. Gandhiji died a martyr to his faith leaving behind him the glorious and inspiring example of a life dedicated.

He regarded the Congress as an instrument for promoting the interests of the nation and not for serving any selfish end. He clearly foresaw the degeneration and disintegration that would set in the ranks of Congressmen in the new political set-up. He drew up a scheme for changing the structure and function of the Congress. But his new constitution and programme for the Congress did not evidently suit the purpose of those who swear by his name. The widening difference between him and the Congress High Command was marked during the closing years of his life. The Congress ridden by faction and corruption was a standing repudiation of all what Gandhiji stood for.

Gandhiji's life had unswerving singularity of purpose pursued with devotional ardour. There cannot be a greater insult to his name than to exploit it for shady political expedients. People must see through the outrageous black magic over his name by unscrupulous political conjurers. Selfless service is the moral of his life and his life, as he himself said, was his message.

HINDUSTHAN STANDARD

AN INDEPENDENT ORGAN OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

CALCUTTA, THE 30TH JANUARY, 1950.

SARVODAYA DAY

THE Congress Working Committee's resolution calling upon the people all over the country to observe the anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's death as 'Sarvodaya Day' is perfectly in tune with the solemnity of the occasion. The Committee have particularly asked the people to observe the day "in a prayerful manner". Indeed, it is a day for moral and spiritual stock-taking, sincere heart-searching and self-analysis, as well as for renewing our resolution to follow in the foot-steps of the Apostle of Peace.

Let us today, the first anniversary of Gandhiji's death in the Republic of India, concentrate our attention on whether or how far we have succeeded in carrying out the teachings of the Mahatma in our individual and collective life. The picture that we see around us everyday of corruption in every sphere of our life does not afford any indication that as a nation we are progressing towards that ideal of virtuous life which Gandhiji plated before the nation. Corruption has entered our administrative services, our public life and also our private life. It has pervaded the whole of our economic life and even tainted our educational institutions. The Mahatma's teaching that bad means can never lead to the attainment of good ends is disregarded by us at almost every step. In politics there is a mad pursuit of supposedly good ends with the help of questionable means, and parties and factions are engaged in attacks and counter-attacks in ways which would have been condemned by the Mahatma as thoroughly immoral. Neither in speech nor in action have we learnt to practise non-violence to any extent. Paying lip-service to that ideal, we are mostly conducting our life in the usual ruts of animal existence. Gandhiji's ideal of constructive work and resuscitation of village life can claim today very few sincere followers. The glare and glamour of position and material gain have weaned away from the programme of constructive work many an erstwhile Congress worker. Of course, there are exceptions. There are men among us who are patiently and sincerely sticking to the high principles preached by the Master and are trying in their own way to propagate the great ideal of truth and non-violence. But their number is so microscopic that their influence can hardly be felt in our public affairs or in the general life of the nation.

It cannot be denied that the Constitution of free India which has just been brought into force, embodies some Gandhian ideals. It abolishes untouchability and guarantees equality in respect of public affairs between man and man and between man and woman. It also guarantees cultural and religious freedom to all citizens while reserving to the State the right to effect social reform and to throw open the Hindu religious institutions to all Hindus. The Constitution also gives importance to the development of cottage industries and the establishment of the village panchayet system. These provisions of the Constitution are no doubt a high tribute to Mahatma Gandhi but it must not be forgotten that Gandhiji in his life put more stress on the moral than on the legal. What he wanted first of all is a purification of the heart and not coercing of the body. It is true that untouchability has been legally abolished and that the practice of untouchability in any shape or form will be legally punishable. But can we say that the mental attitude which gave rise to untouchability has ceased to exist since January 26? To the extent that we shall fail in rooting out that reprehensible attitude of mind from our midst, we shall fail in treading on the foot-steps of the Master. Similarly, in the establishment of the village panchayet system also we must pay more attention to the substance than to the form. Village panchayets were conceived by Gandhiji as some centres of culture and training for democracy and self-sufficiency. If, instead, we try to make them some dens of narrow party politics and faction, the Gandhian ideal would be poorly served indeed!

Let us on the 'Sarvodaya Day' mercilessly analyse our own selves and try to be clear about what we really are and what we profess ourselves to be. Let us measure our professions and practice against the high standards set by the Mahatma. Let us again and again ask ourselves whether our hearts are full of goodwill towards our fellow-beings, of real regard for truth and of sincere desire to serve the dumb millions of the country whose total regeneration is the ideal of 'Sarvodaya'. This day would be truly observed, if we succeed in strengthening today, through prayer and self-analysis, the desire, however weak, to lead a life of virtue and of service to fellow-beings.

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The Bombay Chronicle

THE MESSAGE OF THE MAHATMA

There are moments in the life of a people when one senses, as it were, the deadness of all things. Words, phrases, sentiments that moved the nation not very long before, have ceased to ring true. Life itself seems to drift meaningless about. It was at one such moment in India's history that Gandhiji came on the scene and transformed it overnight as it were. The historian in the years to come will probably have a different conception of the work of Gandhiji than we have who are close to all that he wrought. He will have the advantage of perspective. But, unless he captures the spirit of those times, he will fail to convey a true picture. Gandhiji breathed life into the dry bones and made the nation live. Even today when he is physically no more with us, the consciousness that India cannot be the same again as it was before his time, is strong in us; and even though to all appearance we seem again verging on a dead moment. Once more the phrases and slogans that were current coin but yesterday, fall flat on our ears. Nor does that prevent them from being uttered frequently and tediously. On Republic Day, there were exhortations to "sacrifice". This is one instance of leaning on sentiments which have little meaning. In the context of satyagraha where success and failure meant something very different from that which is commonly counted as such, 'sacrifice' was a fitting term for the contribution of the many to the common effort. In the background of frustration against which the movement was launched, 'sacrifice' was a proper word which evoked a hearty response. But today, when we stand as a free nation facing a hopeful future, 'sacrifice' is singularly inappropriate. All that we do will go to the very concrete work of building a strong, healthy nation, and this end is one which will redound to the credit of every Indian. The effort that is needed for setting one's house in order, might be strenuous but it cannot be regarded as sacrificial. In free India, national service ought not either to be exacted or rendered in a mood of resignation and expectation of personal loss, but as a natural flowering of free souls. There has been much said about the Constitution not being Gandhian". This too, is misreading of the Constitution and a literal interpretation of what 'Gandhian' implies. In the Constitution, specially the preamble and the directive articles, it has been clearly laid down in so many words that we shall not exalt the State above the individual. Nothing is more fundamental in the teachings of Gandhiji than this principle. And it could well have been that a more faithful recognition of the institutions which Gandhiji approved, might have paid less homage to the spirit of the Mahatma's message. And in the last analysis, the Constitution but provides us with the means of achieving better things; it cannot be expected to give us all that we ask for, readymade. Speaking after independence, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru named the present generation of Indians, as a generation born for hard labour, and he significantly added that it rested with us whether that hard labour was beneficial or wastefully spent. Obviously, beneficial work can in no sense of the term be deemed a "sacrifice".

On the second anniversary of the assassination of Gandhiji, one's thoughts turn naturally to the two basic requirements of Freedom on which he laid the greatest emphasis: Social consciousness and national solidarity. In the two years of transition we have had time to reflect on the close relation which subsists between these two and freedom itself, and to realise how much we have yet to perform to ensure sound and solid foundations. It is not any transformation on a high plane that we need but a radical change in our everyday attitude and reactions. Emotionally, there are few peoples who respond to the appeal of an idea and give themselves so wholeheartedly to it as do the Indians. But we suffer from a lack of persistence and tenacity which often leads us woefully astray. On the practical side, there is far too great a dependence for encouragement on immediate results. Gandhiji gave the much needed message that no effort which is worth making is lost completely; at the same time he never for a moment ignored the importance of weighing a situation. There is a great deal to be done in awakening social consciousness and in achieving national solidarity. Everywhere there is a feeling that the proclamation of the Republic calls for renewed efforts and a changed outlook; it is unfortunate that all the message on the occasion seemed to suggest external objectives rather than a new approach, a different technique and a wider vision, or to use a Gandhian phrase, a change of heart. It cannot be said honestly that Gandhiji left the people in doubt as to what kind of change he desired. In his life and in his death, he bore eloquent testimony to the concrete way in which the Nation could be raised to its full stature. The disadvantage of vague appeals and abstract exhortations is that they very often tend to convey the impression that they are addressed to the "other fellow", thus they become invariably the cause of mutual recrimination. Gandhiji never asked from others any line of action which he had not explored himself and demonstrated by practice before. It is this which gives so empty a sound to much that is said nowadays.

Among the causes dear to Gandhiji none was closer than communal unity. His attitude towards communal and religious matters went beyond that which is today commonly described as "secularism". It was all-inclusive rather than exclusive and much of Gandhiji's tolerance was touched with understanding, never indifference. It is not possible for a State which is impersonal to adopt this approach and it is well that we have realised it. But more individuals charged with official responsibility should be possessed of the spirit. If secularism is not to become the precursor of general indifference. It has been claimed as a great achievement that India has not suffered from a narrow nationalism. This has been often commented on by foreign observers who have been struck by the unique development of the national spirit in India after Independence. Indians however, might well ask themselves whether the absence of "narrow nationalism" combined with the too glaring existence of far lesser loyalties can be interpreted as a great gain. We dare not deceive ourselves, nor take estimates of our condition without scrutiny, from outside observers. The tendency prevalent in India for people to rally round sectional, instead of national, interests is far too strong to be overlooked. The manner in which provincialism rapidly succeeded to a hardly repulsed communalism, was revealing. We have to ensure that the State is free from these corrosive influences, and the only sure way of doing this is to readjust our thinking to nationalism and by deliberately conditioning ourselves to shunning every smaller interest which thrusts itself upon us. It calls for effort, possibly effort which will prove a strain to the people; but failure to exert it will place even greater stress. For the rest, a practical approach to the everyday problems about us, an ability to face realities and meet them squarely, and effective organisation to form and express public opinion are essentials of national progress which we may ignore at our peril. Psychologically, the nation suffers from inability either to follow Gandhiji strenuously or to forget about him and chart its own reasoned course. More now even than during his lifetime, the Mahatma stands out as the uneasy conscience of us all. It can be satisfied either by living by the standards he had himself adhered to or by working out something in which we ourselves have faith. There is no third alternative. On the Second Anniversary of Gandhiji's passing away what strikes one is our failure to do either.

SARVODAYA DAY

Celebration In City Today

BOMBAY, Sunday.

Elaborate preparations have been made by several social and political organisations in the city to observe the second death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi.

According to the Bombay Government's decision the anniversary which falls on Monday will be observed as a day of mourning. There will be no official functions and the flags on all Government and public buildings will be flown half-mast.

Following the Government's appeal the BPCC, the Socialist Party and other organisations have cut out all entertainments from their programmes to observe the day with befitting dignity and solemnity, as a Day of self-dedication and heart-searching.

The BPCC programme for the day includes a flag salutation ceremony and sacrificial spinning at Sikka Nagar at 8 a.m., the opening of the Khadi Bhandar by the Mayor Mr. S. K. Patil at Congress House at 10 a.m. and a public prayer meeting at Chaupatty at 6 p.m. which will be presided over by the Mayor and addressed among others by Bishop Gracias, the Bishop of Bombay.

The Socialists will hold a meeting at Mastan Talao, Nagpada, at 9 p.m. Socialist leaders including Mr. Achut Patwardhan will address the meeting.

The B.P.C.C's programme is as follows: 8 a.m.:—Flag Salutation at Sikka Nagar, Vithalbhai Patel Road.

8-30 to 9-30 a.m.:—Sacrificial Spinning at the above place.

10 a.m.:—Opening of the B.P.C.C.'s Khadi Bhandar at Congress House, at the hands of Shri S. K. Patil, President of the BPCC.

6 p.m.:—Public Prayer Meeting at Chaupatti.

CITIZENS OF BOMBAY: Let us pay our respectful homage to the Father of the Nation by specially dedicating this day to him and his ideals.

(See Page 5)

Hindu 31-1-50

FOLLOW MESSAGE OF GANDHIJI

C.R.'S EXHORTATION

PRAYER MEETING IN CITY

MADRAS, Jan. 31.

"Love is like pure water and love alone can cleanse our hearts of all impurities", in these words, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari reminded the people of Madras of the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, when they assembled last evening in front of Rajaji Hall for a prayer meeting which marked the conclusion of Sarvodaya Day in the City.

A non-stop programme of spinning and prayer, organised at Rajaji Hall, began at 6 a.m. and ended at 6-30 p.m. with a mass prayer meeting. Men, women and children came in streams from different parts of the City from an early hour. Processions singing Ram Dhun also joined the meeting. A 25-foot rostrum projecting from the top of the flight of steps of Rajaji Hall had been put up for the occasion. A large-size portrait of Gandhiji, bedecked with flowers, adorned the centre of the rostrum. Another picture of Gandhiji was hung up over the balcony of the Hall.

The occasion was marked by the orderliness and discipline of the mammoth gathering which participated in the prayer. Every inch of space was occupied. Mr. Rajagopalachari arrived at 5-45 p.m. and the gathering cheered him. Mr. K. Kamaraj Nadar, President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, received him and conducted him to the platform. All the Ministers present in Madras attended. Poet Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai, Poet Laureate in Tamil, was also present.

Prayers were offered by those belonging to different religions. Members of the Young People's Club of the Y.W.C.A., sang Gandhiji's favourite Hymns, "When I survey the wondrous Cross", and "Lead Kindly Light". Muslim women recited from the Quran, while a Parsi Lady recited from the Zenda Avasta. In between there were recitals from the Gita, and Ram Dhun, and other devotional songs were sung. Poet Ramalingam Pillai recited verses in memory of Gandhiji.

Mr. Rajagopalachari then addressed the gathering in Tamil. He said:

"This is a solemn occasion which does not admit of any speech or lecture from me or any one else. On this day two years ago, our revered leader and teacher and the affectionate Father of the Nation departed from our midst. We are assembled here to remember that day and, to remind ourselves of that great soul for our own benefit and for our own welfare.

"It gladdens my heart to find, on my return to Madras after retirement, in front of me such a vast gathering of sisters and brothers assembled in prayer. The only way by which this world can progress is for the people to love each other. In order to generate that love in us and to effect a change in our hearts, Mahatma Gandhi appeared in this world. His methods did not appeal to one individual and he ended the life of Gandhiji. He thereby thought that he could end the mission of Gandhiji. But the assassin did not achieve his object. To-day millions of people believe that the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi is the only path worth treading and are following his teachings. Nothing can wean away people from the teachings of Gandhiji. That is why I said that the assassin failed in his object. We must model our lives with faith in Gandhiji's teachings. We must show our confidence and enthusiasm in the path lighted by him.

GANDHIJI'S SPIRIT STILL ALIVE

"My return to Madras has given satisfaction to me and I find it has given satisfaction to you also. (Cheers.) There is no doubt about it. But I would request you not to depend upon me for anything. On the other hand I would request you to treasure the memory of Gandhiji. He may be physically absent from our midst. But his spirit will come and dwell in the heart of each and every one of us if only we remind ourselves constantly of him and the ideals for which he stood. Love is like pure water and love alone can cleanse our hearts of all impurities. Love can purge our minds of hatred, jealousy and other evils. Let us fill our hearts with love in order that we may progress and our State and country may prosper.

"If the assassin of the Mahatma were to come here now and witness your devotion, he will repent for his act. However his spirit has joined Gandhiji now. Therefore, let us not entertain any hatred for him. That will only lead to impurity in our minds.

"We have achieved independence and we have given to ourselves a Republican Constitution. On this occasion let us pray for God's grace to save this country from all troubles and to lead her to progress and prosperity. I have nothing more to say except to add that Mahatma Gandhi lived and died to prove that all religions are one and that all paths lead to the same God". (Cheers).

The Sarvodaya Day celebrations then ended. Before leaving, Mr. Rajagopalachari paid his respects to the portrait of Gandhiji placed on the dais inside the Hall.

NON-STOP SPINNING

People young and old, men and women of all communities, assembled at public gatherings and in private places to pay homage to the Father of the Nation on this second anniversary of his martyrdom. Many individuals, who preferred to stay indoors, offered their homage reciting chapters from the Gita and reading Gandhiji's *Bhajanavali*.

Hundreds went round several localities in *bhajan* parties, carrying in processions portraits of Gandhiji, appropriately decorated.

The non-stop *sutra yagna* and prayer organised by the Tamil Nad Congress at the Rajaji Hall highlighted the day's observances throughout the City.

From early in the morning, processions of students, workers, and citizens, Congressmen and non-Congressmen alike, streamed to this Hall to participate in the prayers.

A huge portrait of Mahatma Gandhi was placed on the dais at one extremity of the Hall.

The entire place was decorated with flower garlands and mango-leaf *thoranams* and in front of the portrait were arranged a number of multi-wicked oil lamps and burning incense bowls. A solemnity as of a shrine pervaded the Hall, broken only by the subdued strains of the *nama sankirtan* or the hum of the *charkas*.

Congress Seva Dal volunteers, boys and girls from local schools and colleges, and other volunteers joined in the prayer with which the day's programme commenced at 6 a.m. Batch after batch participated in the spinning and prayer which went on the whole day.

Men, women and children of different communities marched in a never-ending stream up to the portrait on the dais with flowers, khadi garlands, tricolour flags, bouquets, and a variety of other offerings and laying these near the portrait, made their obeisance.

In educational institutions, programmes were arranged with an emphasis on the instructive side. After spinning and *bhajan* the school-masters or prominent citizens explained to the students the message of Gandhiji and his services to the nation.

In localities inhabited mostly by Harijans, the residents as well as social workers spent the preceding Sunday in cleaning-up and decorating the area for this day's observances. From sunrise to-day, many of these slum areas presented an animated and neat appearance notwithstanding their poverty, and *bhajan* parties and

(Continued on page 9)

FOLLOW MESSAGE OF GANDHIJI

(Continued from page 4)

singing of the *Ramdhun* was the most common feature of observances.

Many individuals and organisations also arranged for feeding the poor, remembering Gandhiji's emphasis on the service of *Daridra Narayana*.

Government and public offices were closed while business houses and shops suspended work for the day.

ANDHRA MAHILA SABHA

The high ideals for which Gandhiji preached and the need for living up to those ideals by his countrymen were explained by Mr. T. Prakasam, speaking at the Andhra Mahila Sabha, Mylapore, last evening, on the occasion of the Sarvodhaya Day celebration.

Mr. Prakasam said though Gandhiji was dead, his spirit was with them guiding their actions. They should not go under the impression that while they were offering prayers to Gandhiji, they were free to commit any wrong and that they would be absolved of all responsibility for those acts. Gandhiji served the people for over thirty years till the time of his tragic end. He preached truth and non-violence and practised it himself. Under his leadership, the country had won freedom. Gandhiji stressed that peace should be established on earth through Sarvodhaya and real panchayat raj. The new constitution, Mr. Prakasam said, recognised to some extent the need for establishment of panchayat raj in its directive principles and Dr. Rajendra Prasad, one of Gandhiji's true disciples, had been chosen President of the Indian Republic. A Statutory Planning Commission had been recommended by leaders and we can hope that Gandhian ideals of Swaraj would be realised in due course.

AT THE GANDHI SEVA SANGAM

The significance of the death anniversary observation of Mahatma Gandhi was explained by several speakers at a public meeting held last night at Triplicane under the auspices of the Gandhi Seva Sangam.

Mr. K. S. Ekambaram, who presided, said that it was the responsibility of the people to maintain and develop the country's freedom attained under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and with the suffering and sacrifice of millions of our countrymen.

Mr. M. Bakthavatsalam said that Mahatma Gandhi had not only got us freedom but had also shown us the path to be followed for maintaining that freedom. The best homage they could pay Mahatmaji was to work out the constructive programme.

Mr. R. Natarajan said that Gandhiji had shown to the world that spiritual power was mightier than brute force and had taught the world the great path of love and Ahimsa.

Messrs T. Chengalvarayan, M. K. Navanitham and Chinna Annamalai next spoke on Gandhiji's ideals and appealed to the people to support the Congress Government.

Mr. S. Sivagnanam thanked the speakers and after singing of national songs, the meeting terminated.

ART EXHIBITION OPENED

An appeal to the people to follow the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi in their daily life was made by Dr. P. V. Cherian, Mayor, declaring open the Sarvodaya Art Exhibition under the auspices of the National Portrait Gallery at the Cresent Hall, Triplicane, yesterday.

Mr. K. V. Vaidyanathan welcomed the gathering and read messages sent by national leaders wishing the Exhibition success.

Mr. S. M. Fossil explained the significance of Sarvodaya Day.

Dr. Cherian said Gandhiji showed in a new way to overcome our difficulties. He wanted people to live in cordiality and he gave up his life for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity. Through his public meetings, prayer meetings, and books Mahatma Gandhi spread the message of love and non-violence.

Dr. C. R. Kamath proposed a vote of thanks.

AT SRI SARADA ELE. SCHOOL

'Sarvodaya' day was celebrated to-day by the Sri Sarada Higher Elementary School, Mambalam. Mr. R. Krishnamoorthy (Rasi) presiding. Mr. Chinna Annamalai spoke on Gandhiam. Mr. R. Krishnamoorthy said that they should perpetuate the memory of Gandhiji. A purse of Rs. 101 on behalf of the School was presented towards the Gandhiji Memorial Stupa Fund.

Mr. S. Sambamoorthy proposed a vote of thanks.

HYDERABAD

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

HYDERABAD, Jan. 30.

The second death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi was observed here to-day with all solemnity due to the occasion. Business was completely suspended in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad. Shops, offices, schools, colleges and newspaper offices remained closed. The National flag was flown half mast on all Government and public buildings.

The day's observances commenced with taking out of prabhat pheris while Gandhiji's favourite hymn 'Raghupati Raghava' was sung in chorus. There was mass spinning in the All India Spinners' Association Khadi Bandar. Mass prayers, fasting and spinning marked the celebrations in the Kasturba Gram Seva Centre of Hydershahot, Maripalli, Mandvi and Gunjhalli and in the Sarvodaya Gram Seva Kendra of Shivrampalli. Mrs. Gyanumati Heda, Provincial representative of the Kasturba Trust, visited the centre at Dershahkot where she addressed a gathering of villagers on the teachings of Gandhiji.

In the afternoon the workers of the Mazdoor Sangh went in a procession through the main streets of Hyderabad and Secunderabad.

BANGALORE

(FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT.)

BANGALORE, Jan. 30.

Sarvodaya Day was observed in Bangalore by several institutions with due solemnity. At Kengeri Gurukula Ashram Day was observed with non-stop spinning, bhajan and prayers. In Bangalore City there was a prayer meeting in the evening at Subhasnagar.

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40

DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF MAHATMA

WREATHS LAID AT "SAMADHI"

DR. PRASAD VISITS RAJGHAT

MASS SPINNING PROGRAMME

BY A STAFF REPORTER

The second anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's death was observed in Delhi on Monday in an atmosphere of great solemnity.

SPECIAL prayers were held at Rajghat at 7 a.m. which were attended by Dr Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and many of the Mahatma's most devoted followers.

Hundreds of people stood in silence when Dr Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Nehru and Mrs Pandit laid floral wreaths on Mahatma Gandhi's "samadhi" and, with joined palms, stood in reverence for a few minutes. The "samadhi" was beautifully decorated with flowers.

Eighteen chapters of Gita were recited in the prayers which lasted for about two hours. This was followed by songs from Mahatma Gandhi's "Bhajnavali". An extract from one of the songs, dearest to Mahatma Gandhi, was, "he is the real man who understands the sufferings of others". The prayers ended with "Ramdhun".

After prayers at Rajghat, there was mass spinning, among those taking part being Dr Prasad and Pandit Nehru. The spinning was followed by devotional songs.

From early morning till late during the day, thousands of people visited Rajghat. They filed past Mahatma Gandhi's "samadhi" and laid flowers and wreaths.

Earlier prayers were held at Birla House at 6 a.m. which were attended by Dr Rajendra Prasad and others.

PTI adds: About 500 men, women and children took part in the spinning programme. The President used a portable charkha and continued to spin for three hours.

The spinning ended at 10 a.m. amidst shouts of "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai". Enthusiastic crowds, which had sat in silence broke all cordons and rushed towards Dr Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Nehru, and showered flowers on them.

M. A. Lamping, doyen of the diplomatic corps in New Delhi, laid a wreath at Mahatma Gandhi's "samadhi" at Rajghat on behalf of foreign diplomats.

Twenty Indians from Mauritius, who came to Delhi to participate in the Republic Day celebrations visited Rajghat to pay homage to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi. They were led by Mr J. N. Roy, a leading Indian member of the Legislative Council of Mauritius, who laid a wreath on Mahatma Gandhi's "samadhi".

Later in the day, General K. M. Cariappa, C-in-C, Indian Army, visited Rajghat and placed a wreath on Mahatma Gandhi's "samadhi". An official of the Pakistan High Com-

(Continued on page 4 column 3)

MAHATMA'S DEATH ANNIVERSARY

(Continued from page 1 column 1)

missioner's office in Delhi also placed a wreath.

Wreaths were also placed at the "samadhi" by the members of the India-Pakistan Friendship Association.

Prominent among the members who placed the wreaths were Dr H. C. Mookerjee, Acting President of the Association, Mr P. L. Lakhanpal, the General Secretary, Mr Mohd Ismail, the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India, and Mr Sarangdhar Das a member of the Executive Committee of the Association.

Mahatma Gandhi's death anniversary was also solemnly observed throughout India.

CALCUTTA

In Calcutta, Dr Katju, the Governor of West Bengal, and Lt P. C. Ghosh, member of the Congress Working Committee, laid wreaths at Gandhi Ghat at Barrackpore. Wreaths were also offered by representatives of various Congress and other organizations. The Mahatma's favourite songs were sung.

At Government House, about 300 people, including a large number of women, took part in mass spinning. Dr Katju also took part.

Singing of Gandhiji's favourite Bhajans took place in the morning. The West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee arranged a dawn to dusk programme.

Wreaths were placed at Gandhi Ghat, Barrackpore, by Mr Sri Prakasa, Governor of Assam, on behalf of the Government and people of the province.

Addressing the gathering at Gandhi Ghat, Dr Katju reminded the people that the only homage they could pay to Gandhiji was by performing their own respective duties. On this day when they bowed in respect to the Mahatma, he would pray not only that the country might live in peace and prosperity but the individual might be granted strength to live up to his duties. He urged each one of them to pledge that he would follow Gandhiji's ideals.

BOMBAY

In Bombay, the national flag flew half mast on all Government and public buildings. Business was completely suspended.

At Congress House, in the morning over 1,000 people, including Ministers of the provincial Government, participated in mass spinning.

At a flag salutation ceremony earlier Mr S. K. Patil, President of the Provincial Congress Committee, paid homage to the Father of the Nation and appealed to the people to abide by the message of the Mahatma, namely, "peace and goodwill to all".

He said it was Gandhiji who revolutionized the concept of political life in the whole world by preaching the principles of truth and non-violence as the guiding slogans of the political struggle of this country.

SIMLA

Business quarters in Simla remained closed in the afternoon and flags flew at half mast on Government and private buildings. A meeting has been arranged by the District Congress Committee.

INDORE

In Indore, all business was suspended and the national flag flew at half mast over all Government and public buildings. Mass prayer meetings were also held.

JUBBULPORE

All markets, courts, schools, Government offices were closed for the day. Spinning and takli yagnas were held. There were mass prayers in Tilakbyli.

ALLAHABAD

In Allahabad, prabhat pheries were taken out in the morning from different mohallas of the city. A complete hartal was observed. A procession organized by the City Congress Committee passed through the main thoroughfares singing Ramdhun and Bhajan songs and terminated at Mohammad Ali Park. A Charkha Yagna (sacrificial spinning) was organized.

A procession was also taken out by the Ahiyapur Ward Congress Committee.

RAJKOT

In Rajkot, there was complete suspension of business and shops, eating houses, hotels and the markets remained closed. In the morning, mass prayers were held at Rastra Shala, the historic site where Gandhiji once fasted.

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NEW LEAF TURNED IN INDIA'S HISTORY

—PANDIT NEHRU

PEOPLE URGED TO CO-OPERATE WITH GOVERNMENT

BY A STAFF REPORTER

Addressing a mass meeting in Ramlila Grounds on Monday, held in connexion with "Sarvodaya Day", Pandit Nehru pleaded for public support to carry on the work of the new Republic.

The inauguration of the Indian Republic, he said, on January 26 was the most important event in the history of India. Its significance was all the more great because on that day their pledge for complete independence, taken on the banks of the river Ravi, 30 years ago, had been fulfilled. This gave them new hope and inspiration for greater work.

On this day, a new leaf had been turned in India's history, whose significance the people in general had not realized. This was because the change had come without a bloody revolution. Literally they had been completely free from August 15, 1947, and had carried on their work without any outside interference, but it was on January 26 that the country had entered a new era.

Freedom, Pandit Nehru said, had brought new responsibilities on the people. Their responsibilities had increased not only inside the country, but also outside it. No free country, he said, in the modern world could keep itself aloof from the rest of the world. The world was faced with great problems today and it was their duty to face those problems and to try to solve them.

There had been two world wars during the last 35 years. They were fought to achieve freedom and peace in the world but it was now realized that one war led to another. Different nations of the world were today spending large portions of their incomes in a race for armament as they feared a third world war. The whole world today was following a path which was entirely opposed to the principles of Mahatma Gandhi.

INDIA'S ROLE

New India had to play a great role and choose the right path. Their responsibilities were all the more great because they had to apply Mahatma Gandhi's principles of moral force in India's foreign policy. Unless the world gave up the path of war and followed the path indicated by Mahatma Gandhi, there could be no peace.

Keeping in view Mahatma Gandhi's principles, the Prime Minister said, the Indian Government recently sent a proposal to Pakistan to rule out war as a means of settling disputes between the two countries. They should get together and try to settle their disputes by negotiation and other peaceful methods. He was confident that this would benefit both the countries. He added that the reply he had received was not satisfactory. They were nevertheless still in correspondence with Pakistan. He emphasized that they were trying to follow the Mahatma's principles to end outstanding disputes between the two countries.

Referring to trouble in Calcutta and some other places, Pandit Nehru said that a few misguided youths were trying to create trouble in a part of Bengal. A few self-styles and misled could not overthrow a Government. He urged the people to meet the challenge of such people.

The Prime Minister asked the people to reorganize themselves on the principles of Mahatma Gandhi.

The meeting was presided over by Kaka Kalelkar, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi.

ACHIEVING CLASSLESS SOCIETY

SARVODAYA COMMITTEE'S PLANS OUTLINED

Two hundred constructive workers who believe in Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of Sarvodaya on Monday declared their faith in the progressive realization of a "non-violent society" which will not be based on "caste and class", and where exploitation, crime and war will cease.

In a 34-page brochure published to synchronize with Mahatma Gandhi's second death anniversary, the workers, who met at a Sarvodaya Economic Conference at Wardha on December 22, have outlined the principle of their Sarvodaya plan which will ultimately "replace the military by non-violent defence" and conduce to the achievement of the ideal of one world.

The plan has been outlined by the Sarvodaya Planning Committee set up by the conference. In addition to the President, Mr Kaka Kalelkar, other members of the committee include Mr J. C. Kumarappa, Mr Shankerrao Deo, Mr G. Ramachandran, Mr R. R. Patil and Mr P. C. Ghosh, Mr B. K. Pathi and Mr Gulzarilal Nanda.

The plan envisages "the fulfilment of the individual and social personality of man, under a pattern of life, in which the regime would tend more and more to be self-sufficient in the objects of material well-being and co-operative in social, moral and cultural pursuits".

PLAIN LIVING ESSENTIAL

"Plain living is essential to a non-exploitative society", it adds, "and conducive to the fulness of life. For the building of such a society, it is necessary that every individual should put in an amount of physical labour in the production of the basic needs of life. In such a society, which will not be based on caste and class, there will be equal opportunity for all which will result in the full and proper utilization of human, animal and natural resources for the purpose of enabling each individual to secure full self-expression and attaining the level of productive efficiency which will assure the requisite standard of life".

Advocating the removal of disparity in incomes in every sector of economic life, the Committee observes: "The minimum income should assure to an average family adequate food, clothing and housing accommodation which may be expressed on the basis of the present price level by a monthly income of Rs 100. Every effort should be made to reach up to the minimum standard as early as possible".

The system of production, according to the plan, must enable the distribution of wealth widely and evenly, supply the needs of the people before comforts and luxuries are catered for, be a means of elevating all the faculties of the workers and should conduce to peace and harmony in society. Planning of production should centre round agriculture and industries allied to agriculture such as animal husbandry. Abolition of zamindari should be expedited as one of the reforms in the country's land system. Land should vest in the tiller, there being no place for intermediaries.

LAND OWNERSHIP

"The idea of proprietorship in which the owner could use or misuse land as he likes, is incongruous with the economic and social needs of our times. Rights in land should therefore be shared between the community and the tiller."

Suggesting the setting up of a "rural economic civil service" the plan says, "There will be neither adequate food for men nor fodder for cattle unless the country can raise a veritable land army with a crusading spirit. There must be a band of men who can share the joy and sorrows of small men in their surroundings of poverty, illiteracy and ill-health. Young men and women with a general education and a proper outlook should be recruited. They should be trained in the theory and practice of agriculture, the co-operative movement and organization of agricultural industries, and placed for a period of probation in co-operative and collective farms before they are absorbed in the service".

With regard to agricultural indebtedness, the Committee says that there should be compulsory scaling down of the debts of the farmers and landless labourers on the basis of the paying capacity and equality of loans. All money-lenders should be registered and their operations regulated. Credit should be as far as possible "controlled, functional and in kind".

The major problem of the agricultural labourer being unemployment and under-employment, there should be an immediate plan to transfer the bulk of this population to collective farms and agricultural industries. Efforts should also be made to organize the agricultural labourers scattered over "vast and difficult country" to prevent their exploitation.

On the question of industrial production, the plan envisages manufacture of consumer goods by decentralized industries, limiting centralized control and production to defence industries, generation of power, mining, metallurgy, forestry, heavy engineering machinery, machine tools and chemicals.

"Centralized industries should be viewed as auxiliaries to decentralized industries, inasmuch as they increase the productive efficiency of the latter by providing implements and raw materials", the committee says. "They should be owned by society and run by autonomous co-operatives, if possible.

BANKING AND INSURANCE

"Such centralized industries should be socialized on payment of com-

basis of barter, payment of wages and taxes, as far as possible in kind, and advance of functional credit, agricultural and industrial, the use of money would be reduced to the minimum".

As to transport and communications, public utilities, like railways, roads, inland waterways, coastal shipping, ports and telegraphs and air transport should be so organized that the village is kept in the forefront. To provide full employment to man and the bullock power, the main vehicle of transport in the rural areas should be the bullock cart.

"Education for a career, aids the plan, must give place to education for service. It must aim at a new humanism based on absolute devotion to non-exploitiveness, non-violence and truth";

VILLAGE PANCHAYATS

Stating that village panchayats should be created as basic units of administration and clothed with substantial powers of government, the committee says: "For different levels of social co-operation, other regional bodies should be created through the method of indirect election and delegation of powers. Through this process an administrative machinery would be created with the shape of a pyramid, where the bulk of governmental power would be at the bottom".

The brochure declares: "We feel sure that such a revolution could only be realized by the development of the spirit of love and by the progress in rural sciences. In fact only by the realization of Sarvodaya principles there can be one world.

"We do not believe in military defence. We make it absolutely clear that our ultimate ideals is to replace the military by non-violent defence. Destruction of life and property should be regarded as a matter for sorrow and regret and not of glorification. Glorification of the soldiery, therefore, should immediately cease.

"But the noble qualities of courage, hardihood and self-sacrifice should be recognized and harnessed in the cause of non-violent defence.

"But as circumstanced we have to recognize the fact that immediate disbandment of the military may not be found practicable by the Government. Nevertheless, in the period of transition, effective and urgent steps should be taken to develop the spirit of non-violent resistance.—PTI.

realized. This was because the change had come without a bloody revolution. Literally they had been completely free from August 15, 1947, and had carried on their work without any outside interference, but it was on January 26 that the country had entered a new era.

Freedom, Pandit Nehru said, had brought new responsibilities on the people. Their responsibilities had increased not only inside the country, but also outside it. No free country, he said, in the modern world could keep itself aloof from the rest of the world. The world was faced with great problems today and it was their duty to face those problems and to try to solve them.

There had been two world wars during the last 35 years. They were fought to achieve freedom and peace in the world but it was now realized that one war led to another. Different nations of the world were today spending large portions of their incomes in a race for armament as they feared a third world war. The whole world today was following a path which was entirely opposed to the principles of Mahatma Gandhi.

INDIA'S ROLE

New India had to play a great role and choose the right path. Their responsibilities were all the more great because they had to apply Mahatma Gandhi's principles of moral force in India's foreign policy. Unless the world gave up the path of war and followed the path indicated by Mahatma Gandhi, there could be no peace.

Keeping in view Mahatma Gandhi's principles, the Prime Minister said, the Indian Government recently sent a proposal to Pakistan to rule out war as a means of settling disputes between the two countries. They should get together and try to settle their disputes by negotiation and other peaceful methods. He was confident that this would benefit both the countries. He added that the reply he had received was not satisfactory. They were nevertheless still in correspondence with Pakistan. He emphasized that they were trying to follow the Mahatma's principles to end outstanding disputes between the two countries.

Referring to trouble in Calcutta and some other places, Pandit Nehru said that a few misguided youths were trying to create trouble in a city of about 50 lakhs. A few acid-balls and bombs could not overthrow a Government. He urged the public to meet the challenge of such people.

The Prime Minister asked the people to rededicate themselves to the principles of Mahatma Gandhi.

The meeting was presided over by Kaka Kalelkar, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi.

SARVODAYA COMMUNITY PLANS OUTLINED

Two hundred constructive workers who believe in Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of Sarvodaya on Monday declared their faith in the progressive realization of a "non-violent society" which will not be based on "caste and class", and where exploitation, crime and war will cease.

In a 34-page brochure published to synchronize with Mahatma Gandhi's second death anniversary, the workers, who met at a Sarvodaya Economic Conference at Wardha on December 22, have outlined the principle of their Sarvodaya plan which will ultimately "replace the military by non-violent defence" and condive to the achievement of the ideal of one world.

The plan has been outlined by the Sarvodaya Planning Committee set up by the conference. In addition to the President, Mr Kaka Kalelkar, other members of the committee include Mr J. C. Kumarappa, Mr Shankarrao Deo, Mr P. C. Ghosh, Mr R. K. Patil and Mr Gulzarilal Nanda.

The plan envisages "the fulfilment of the individual and social personality of man, under a pattern of life, in which the regions would tend more and more to be self-sufficient in the objects of material well-being and cooperative in social, moral and cultural pursuits".

PLAIN LIVING ESSENTIAL

"Plain living is essential to a non-exploitative society", it adds, "and conducive to the fulness of life. For the building of such a society, it is necessary that every individual should put in an amount of physical labour in the production of the basic needs of life. In such a society, which will not be based on caste and class, there will be equal opportunity for all, which will result in the full and proper utilization of human, animal and natural resources for the purpose of enabling each individual to secure full self-expression and attaining the level of productive efficiency which will assure the requisite standard of life".

Advocating the removal of disparity in incomes in every sector of economic life, the Committee observes: "The minimum income should assure to an average family adequate food, clothing and housing accommodation which may be expressed on the basis of the present price level by a monthly income of Rs 100. Every effort should be made to reach up to the minimum standard as early as possible".

The system of production, according to the plan, must enable the distribution of wealth widely and evenly; supply the needs of the people before comforts and luxuries are catered for; be a means of eliciting all the faculties of the workers; and finally conform to the canons of harmony in society. Planning of production should centre round agriculture and industries allied to agriculture such as animal husbandry. Abolition of zamindari should be considered as one of the reforms in the country's land system. Land should vest in the tiller, there being no place for intermediaries.

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Suggesting the setting up of a "rural economic civil service" the plan says: "There will be another adequate plan for men not fodder for cattle only. If the country can raise a veritable land army with a crusading spirit. There must be a band of men who can share the joy and sorrows of small men as their surroundings of poverty, illiteracy and ill-health. Young men and women with a general education and a proper outlook should be recruited. They should be trained in the theory and practice of agriculture, co-operative movement and organization of agricultural industries, and placed for a period of probation in co-operative and collective farms before they are absorbed in the service".

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"Centralized industries should be viewed as auxiliaries to decentralized industries, inasmuch as they increase the productive efficiency of the latter by providing implements and raw materials", the committee says. "They should be owned by society and run by autonomous co-operatives, if possible".

BANKING AND INSURANCE

"Such centralized industries should be socialized on the model of compensation calculated on the basis of the coming income allowed under the plan. All these industries are regarded, as they should be controlled in the interest of the community and the ideal to be attained".

The organizational and technical efficiency of the basic industries should be improved through rationalization and placed under the direction of a separate council under the Planning Commission.

The sterling balances should henceforth be primarily used to get capital goods for the rationalization of these centralized industries.

"In the economic order envisaged by us, there is no place for foreign concerns, either in the sector of centralized industries producing consumer goods, or in the sector of key industries", the committee says.

Referring to banking, insurance and currency, the Sarvodaya Plan observes: "Our objective is to minimize, as far as possible, the use of money in every sector of economy, because 'money evil' is largely responsible today for economic disequilibrium. In a self-sufficient decentralized economic life with minimum internal and international exchange on the basis of barter, payment of wages and taxes, as far as possible in kind, and advance of functional credit, agricultural and industrial, the use of money would be reduced to the minimum".

As to transport and communications, public utilities, like railways, roads, inland waterways, coastal shipping, posts and telegraphs and air transport should be so organized that the village is kept in the forefront. To provide full employment to man and the bullock power, the main vehicle of transport in the rural areas should be the bullock cart.

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"But the noble qualities of courage, hardihood and self-sacrifice should be recognized and harnessed in the cause of non-violent defence.

"But as circumstances we have to recognize the fact that immediate disarmament of the military may not be found practicable by the Government. Nevertheless, in the period of transition effective measures of disarmament should be taken by the Government from year to year".

India news chronicle 31-1-50

GANDHIJI'S IDEOLOGY OF NON-VIOLENCE

"Most Dynamic Force"

In an address recently delivered at the Institute of International Relations in Texas, U. S. A., Dr. Sushila Nayar, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, discusses the philosophy of non-violence.

By
SUSHILA NAYAR

WHAT Mahatma Gandhi has left behind is for the whole world and not for India alone. He lived and died for peace and goodwill upon earth, and he was convinced that it could never be achieved unless and until there was a living acceptance of the principles of truth and non-violence by mankind.

The ideology of non-violence is as old as the hills. It has been preached and practised by the sages from time immemorial in every country and every religion. But it was accepted only as the ideal for the individual, the man of God who had renounced the world. Mahatma Gandhi, with his clear and precise thinking, came to the conclusion that what was good and practical for one man must be so for the masses of mankind too. Similarly, he realized that life was one continuous whole. It could not be divided into separate compartments. If it was desirable for one to be truthful and non-violent in his personal life, it must be so in the social, economic and political spheres too.

He derived inspiration from the Bhagawadgita, the Sermon on the Mount, the writings of Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau, but it was left to him to put their theories into practice and demonstrate to the world that non-violence could be used to rectify every wrong, and that it could be practised on a mass scale as an effective substitute for war or violent revolution.

He started practising non-violent resistance or "Satyagraha" (meaning insistence on truth) by fighting the injustice of colour prejudice in South Africa. He had gone there to make his fortune as a barrister, but the injustice inflicted upon the Indian community there oppressed him, and he took up the fight for redressing their wrongs. The non-violent resistance movement organized by him kept him in that country for 20 years, and after the successful culmination of that struggle, he returned to India. There he used the same weapon to attain the freedom of India. You all are familiar with that struggle and its successful termination. No country in the world has had a bloodless revolution of that type.

SELF-SUFFERING

Mahatma Gandhi objected to the term Passive Resistence for his movement, for he believed that non-violence is the most dynamic force on earth. The weapon is infallible, but one who wishes to wield it must acquire the requisite qualification to do so. The principle is to convert the opponent to our own way of thinking by making him see his mistake. It is done through non-co-operation with the wrong-doer, and through active civil resistance of what appears to us to be wrong and cheerfully suffering the consequences thereof. The last weapon in the armoury of a satyagrahi, or civil resister, is self-suffering through fasting, which serves the triple purpose of self-introspection, invoking the help of God and affecting the opponent's heart through self-suffering. But the self-suffering, in order to be effective, must be pure. The objective must be above selfish ends and aimed at the good of both sides. The satyagrahi must be full of love for the opponent and never harbour the least ill-will or desire for revenge or retaliation. Non-violence must never be used as a cloak for cowardice.

It requires a courage of a far superior type to die without killing than to die in the process of killing. And the utmost that one can do is to stake one's life for the defence of what one believes to be right.

A question might be asked if it is possible to make the sacrifices that are required in the practice of non-violent resistance. The answer is that the sacrifices involved in violent warfare are far greater in the long run and the results far poorer. Only the intoxication of war and violence makes it easier to make them at the time.

Another question often asked is whether it was the effectiveness of the non-violent struggle in India and the consequent change of heart that led to the British withdrawal, or whether it was the world situation that forced them to quit. Gandhiji's reply to that question was that he did not believe that it was the world situation which forced them to quit, but even if it were granted for the sake of argument, it detracted nothing from the efficacy of non-violence, for in human affairs there is always an unknown factor beyond human calculations. A living faith in God is absolutely necessary for one who will practise non-violence, said Mahatma Gandhi. For, there will be moments when there will be utter darkness and a blind wall in front. Nothing but a living faith will sustain a satyagrahi at such times. But if one perseveres, the way will open, and the unknown will produce situations which no one could have dreamt of.

Another argument often put forth is that non-violence succeeded against the British, as they are a civilized people. It would have never worked against Hitler or Stalin. Gandhiji's reply was that non-violence never fails. The harder the heart that has to be melted, the greater must be the suffering and sacrifice of the non-violent resisters, coupled with love and goodwill towards the oppressor. In other words, one must make a distinction between the sin and sinner, and while we must dislike and resist wrong, we may have nothing but goodwill and compassion towards the wrong-doer. Moreover, a non-violent resister must have his own hands clean. A small thief cannot hope to persuade a bigger thief to give up thievery through non-violence and self-suffering.

DECENTRALIZED ECONOMY

While Gandhiji presented the technique of Satyagraha or non-violent resistance as a potent means of securing justice in the domestic, social, national and international fields, he knew full well and emphasized the importance of constructive work as the basis of a non-violent social order. For that he insisted upon decentralized economy. Centralization places a power in the hands of a few, whether they may be the capitalists or the State itself, and, therefore, reduces the freedom of the individual.

He believed in the principle "to all according to their need, and from all according to their capacity" but it was to be accepted voluntarily. Moral pressure might have to be used to convert those who possessed far more than they needed to become trustees of their wealth but he did not believe in beheading them. For violence never really solves any problem, though it might appear to do so at the moment. In his opinion the failure of the French and the Russian revolutions to achieve their high objectives was due to the fact that they used violence and even resorted to untruth to achieve them.

Besides voluntary sharing, there was emphasis on voluntary reduction of material wants as opposed to the drive to possess more and more. He presented the ideology of simple living and high thinking. He emphasized the importance of physical labour as a means of self-expression and creative joy and asked the people to use first the most wonderful machine given to them by God—their own two hands. When they had exhausted the potentialities thereof, they could use other means to supplement it so that the machine remained the servant of man and did not become his master, reducing him to a mere peg in the mechanical giant. Therefore, he emphasized the need for handicrafts and a system of education which trains the children's heads through developing the skill of their hands. This system of education, called 'Basic Education', is based on the same idea as progressive education in this country. Only it is more comprehensive and links up non-violence with education so as to turn the aggression of the child into creative channels from an early age.

He fought for the removal of untouchability and insisted upon the eradication of all distinctions based on caste, colour and creed. There was to be equal respect and regard for all religions, since all religions presented the same truth and there were good and bad men among the followers of all faiths. It was the practice of the spirit of religion that mattered, and not the labels. The practice of non-violence and truth in thought, word and deed, and exercise of self-control with regard to all so-called basic drives of man were the essential discipline which gave one the strength to work out a non-violent pattern of life based on the constructive programme.

NON-VIOLENCE IN PRACTICE

A question might be asked whether it is ever possible for all men to practise these high principles. Gandhiji's reply was that not all mankind consists of armed forces. Those who enlist in the army have to receive training in arms. Similarly the soldiers of non-violence must undergo training in non-violence. And just as not every soldier knows all the ins and outs of war policies, similarly in non-violence the general has to be familiar with the intricacies of the application of non-violence to various situations and formulate policies. The soldiers must obey, but they must have faith in the weapon that they are using, and and will, if we have the courage to must endeavour to follow the disci- follow his teachings.

plines necessary for the practice of non-violence.

War and violence have been glorified through the ages. If even a fraction of that effort were spent on making peace attractive, or if even a fraction of the effort spent on training armed forces were spent on providing training in non-violence, there is no limit to the potentialities of non-violence. India's non-violent struggle was conducted by masses who were utterly untrained, and the General, Mahatma Gandhi, also received training in the process of our struggle. Our non-violence was very imperfect, no doubt, but if that could achieve what it has done, how much more could real non-violence of the brave do? That is the lesson that Mahatma Gandhi has left to India and the world.

The essence of it all is that one can never achieve the right end by using the wrong means. As opposed to the doctrine, "the end justifies the means", Mahatma Gandhi held, "Means are more important than the end. If you take care of the means, the end will take care of itself." His experiment proved that freedom can be won through non-violence. It remains for all free nations of the world, including India, to demonstrate that freedom can be maintained through non-violence. In fact, that is the only way of securing real freedom for the masses, of achieving true democracy. Half-hearted democracy of the present day cannot stand against the tide of Communism. The democracy preached by Mahatma Gandhi can the weapon that they are using, and and will, if we have the courage to must endeavour to follow the disci- follow his teachings.

Indian Express

MADRAS: MON., JAN. 30, 1950.

REMEMBRANCE

TWO YEARS AGO TO DATE when Mahatma Gandhi sank before the assassin's bullet, thanking his deliverer in prayerful abandon, he left a world distracted by grief. The moving pageant of sorrow that gripped the motherland as the ashes of her beloved son mingled with the sacred rivers of India and the great oceans that cleanse the shores of continents, was so striking that it has been aptly compared to the colour and the heave of the sea which is the mother of tears. The nameless masses and the countless millions that participated in this mourning were said to have given the occasion the grandeur and the dignity of the sun darkened by a vast migration of birds. Who indeed can deny that millions of minds were uplifted by the memory of that beloved face which to the humblest and the lowly, to the suppressed and the oppressed all over the world, meant the very breath of their nostrils? Those in far-off lands who never saw him; those in our own country who had but heard of him; those who had moved and worked with him in close proximity; and those who worshipped him from a distance with blind devotion, felt that they were all orphaned. Even those whom circumstances brought into conflict with him and those that circumstances taught to hate him joined in paying homage to the dead as one of the greatest and noblest men in the world.

It is the memory of this great son of Mother India that this country recalls with infinite love and gratitude today. Not that the nation needs any crude reminder to cherish this memory in its lifetime. The manner in which every mind spontaneously turns to him in the hour of stress, the way in which the thought of every man, woman and child in this benighted country turned to him on January 26, 1950 hold enough of history's power. When the Republic of India was formally inaugurated, it was demonstrated if any visible demonstration was at all called for that never in recorded history has there been a more romantic or heartening record of man's pilgrimage to his appointed destiny. He worked his way into the heart of India and the world through the path of poverty, suffering and self-denial. If his life accomplished many things, has not his death accomplished many things more? "One lonely man in a teeming continent held by an alien power, he lived and died to see his people rising in the panoply of a new freedom, and a new strength, and bringing their precious gift to the nations of the world". What testimony can be more illustrative of this truth than the universal acclaim with which the Republic has been greeted at its birth and the equally universal tribute to the Mahatma's legacy that has characterised every utterance made and every message sent on the occasion?

India has no doubt trod painfully along the path indicated by the Father of the Nation, though most of us may not have been able to keep to it and many may have even strayed from it. Perhaps if Gandhiji were alive today, there might be quite a different spectacle. But the core of his teaching still is a power for good and the standard set by him remains the measuring-rod for ambition and achievement. Herein lies the hope of survival for the country for the institution he built up so laboriously and for the people that remain by and large faithful to it. The constitution that has been drawn up and proclaimed with due pomp and ceremony, the machinery that has been devised to work it, are both in a small way patterned on his great ideal. The cardinal principles by which he stood during his life time are embodied in the various clauses and in the institutions arising therefrom. If through human frailty, they are in any respect found wanting, they should be there to correct and amend. Meanwhile, as we have said, the Gandhian ideal holds good and if those that are entrusted with the task of translating it into practice remain faithful to it there is still hope of redemption from current distemper. India has some of Gandhiji's stalwart lieutenants at the helm of affairs. It is up to others that profess loyalty to him and the Congress to sustain and support them. The second anniversary of the Mahatma's martyrdom should lead to heart searching and a vow to do better to keep alive a great name and a noble mission.

37

India Express 31-1-50

VISITS TO BAPU

By NADIG KRISHNA MURTHI

I will never forget the day of my visit to Gandhiji's Sewagram ashram on March 19, 1941, when I had my first glimpse of the Mahatma. Through the kind offices of Mr. H. C. Dasappa I was able to get into Gandhiji's presence. (Mr. Dasappa, now Finance Minister of Mysore, was one of the closest disciples of Bapuji and had the privilege of offering him water just before his death).

The Individual Civil Disobedience movement was on at the time, and Pyarelal, one of Gandhiji's secretaries, had been convicted that day. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kripalani and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya were in Sewagram to discuss the movement with Bapu.

I entered the room touched Mahatmaji's feet. He greeted me with a smile and inquired about the purpose of my visit. He spoke in Hindustani, but I had to reply in English because I did not know our national language. He chided me, saying, "What can you learn here without knowing Hindustani, which is the medium of expression?" I promised that I would learn the language.

Ashram rules are very strict. One had to inform the manager in advance of date and time of arrival. I had not done that, and so could not get any food in the Ashram, that day. Bapuji came to know of this through Mr. and Mrs. Dasappa, his wife, whom he immediately asked to feed me. Ba had only been waiting to take orders from Bapuji. She was present at our interview. She knew I had had no food throughout the day. Earlier when I was sleeping under a tree waiting for the appointed time to meet the Mahatma, she had come to me and made kind enquiries. With motherly affection, she asked, "Why didn't you inform us earlier? Don't you know that we have very strict rules and regulations? Bapu does not spare anybody."

"Bapuji asked me to come and see him later. Ba dragged me by the hand to the kitchen, where she gave me milk corn bread, fruits and vegetables. I was overwhelmed by her kindness.

Gandhiji used to start for his evening walks at six with some of his disciples. At that time, he makes it a point to visit his patients. When I was there he was treating a lener, Mr. Shastri. During the walks, he used to talk about many subjects. He would crack jokes and play with children.

The Prayer Meetings

I attended his prayer meetings for the first time. Gandhiji had his prayers both in the mornings and in the evenings. His evening prayers were attended by a large gathering. A bell would ring at the commencement of the prayer hour. The gathering had to maintain complete silence. Gandhiji started the prayer with 'Om' One of his disciples would recite some hymns from the Bible, the Koran and the Gita which were explained. Some devotional songs would be sung by the Ashram girls. Gandhiji would then speak on the happenings of the day. All the work of the Ashram for the day would be narrated and advice given wherever necessary. Everybody had to indicate his or her progress in spinning for the day. Gandhiji would then retire to his abode, and the prayer meeting would conclude with his departure.

My second visit to the Ashram was in 1945 when I stayed there for 15 days. And this, time I came in closer contact with Gandhiji for we had more in common to talk about. I was engaged in constructive work with his grandson, Kanthal Gandhi. Bapuji would listen intently to my narration our activities and make suggestions.

"Be steadfast in all your actions," he told me. "Do not shirk your duties and responsibilities. Let your eyes be always on the aims you have set before you. Be truthful. Do your duty. God will take care of other things. Give Kanti my love. Go and work with him."

At Ba's Samadhi

I had another opportunity to meet Gandhiji in Poona where Kasturba died in prison. Whenever he visited Poona, he made it a point to go to her samadhi. I too wanted to pay my respects to Ba, as I had had no opportunity to meet her after 1941. I heard Gandhiji was going to the Aga Khan's Palace and went there before him and waited. Holding a bunch of flowers in his hand, Gandhiji came with a small band of followers. He recognised me and beckoned to me. I followed him to the samadhi and Bapuji placed the flowers on it. Gandhiji was visibly moved.

The last time I saw Gandhiji was in the middle of 1946. He was residing in one of the Harijan slums of Bombay. I wanted to receive his blessings before leaving for the United States. When I informed him of my plans, he did not approve of them. He was of opinion that one need not go to the United States to study Journalism, as Journalistic training in India would be sufficient for any youth honest enough to pursue the profession. To him it was a mere waste of money, time and energy. He suggested that I should enter a newspaper office for practical training. I explained how I had failed in my endeavours to get into a newspaper office. He asked me to go to Mr. G. Ramachandran. I had no answer. But, I could not retrace my steps, because I had already made all preparations. I had obligations, too, to friends who had helped me. I explained to him all my difficulties, but he could not be convinced. Finally he said, "You have come here with a decision. You have decided to go and so you are going. Let me hope you will come back with a full spirit of service to mankind. It will be a tragedy for India, if you, Indian youths, after your Western environment lose faith in God, Service, Truth and Non-violence. I hope you will accept yourself in a dignified manner that befits India. Do not be a fool again. My best wishes are with you." I bowed and he smiled. That was his last smile for me. That was my last glimpse of the Mahatma.

A THOUGHT for TODAY

The world rests upon the bedrock of Satya or Truth. Asatya meaning untruth, also means "non-existent," and Satya, or Truth, means "that which is." If untruth does not so much as exist, its victory is out of the question. As Truth being "that which is" can never be destroyed. This is the doctrine of Satyagraha in a nutshell.

—MAHATMA GANDHI.

INDIAN REPUBLIC

TUESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1950.

LEST WE FORGET !!

TWO years have rolled by since Mahatma Gandhi made the supreme sacrifice by laying down his life at the hands of a fanatic and thus paid the price of a martyr to the cause of India's freedom and world peace. India, in fact the whole world, was stunned by the assasination of a man who at that time was ceaselessly engaged in the stupendous task of drawing together the diverse threads of national life and consolidating the national forces for strengthening our newly-acquired freedom. We undoubtedly cherish his memory; we call him the Father of the Nation; we proclaim his greatness and recall with pride and gratitude the great contribution he made for the moulding of the Indian nation. We continue to invoke his spirit and ask for its blessings in our national endeavours.

That is only what a grateful nation is expected to do and we are doing it. But at the same time we seem very often to forget that the best way of paying homage to the memory of one like Gandhiji is to follow in his footsteps and act up to what he preached. We seem to forget that we are the fortunate inheritors of a rich legacy which he had left us and which we must carefully preserve and foster so that the world can look up to us as the country which produced a world teacher of his stature and calibre. Two years after his death we have to ask ourselves the questions: Are we being true to the memory of the Mahatma? Are we sincerely and devotedly following the lamp he had lighted to guide our path? Mahatma Gandhi's standards of personal conduct in some respects may be exacting even as his ideals are exalted, so that not many individuals can claim to have reached those heights. But everyone can strive in his own small way to practise and accomplish in some measure at least one or more of the objectives he stood for, namely, truth and non-violence, service of the poor, village reconstruction through the promotion of khadi or other village industries, removal of untouchability and promotion of communal unity. We cannot help acknowledging that these are items in the constructive programme which contribute, each in its own measure, to the elevation of national character, rejuvenation of national life and promotion of the prosperity of the masses, which is the real foundation of freedom.

Two of the fundamental ideals for which Gandhiji lived and died are truth and non-violence and the elimination of colour prejudice and establishment of equality among men. The significance and scope of these ideals transcend national boundaries and they are ideals which have an international value and importance because they alone, when adequately practised, can save the world from the scourge and the miseries of destructive warfare. The message that the Mahatma gave in regard to them is not entirely a new message, but one which other religious teachers like the Buddha and Christ before him propagated and preached. But it was given to Mahatma Gandhi to re-emphasise its significance to a world which stood in immediate and urgent need of it in the context of present day conditions and needs. It is the message, also, that Pandit Nehru, as the political and spiritual heir of the Mahatma, delivered with considerable force and commendable sincerity to the Western world during his recent tour of the United States of America and Canada.

Just prior to the second anniversary of Gandhiji's martyrdom, India, for whose freedom he laid the foundation through his three decades of ceaseless work, had the good fortune to attain complete sovereign independence. Thereby one of the foremost tasks for which he dedicated himself in his lifetime had been fulfilled. It must be remembered, however, that according to Mahatma Gandhi himself, political independence is not an end in itself, it is only the means to an end, the latter being Sarvodaya or universal uplift and progress. That ideal may sound unattainable and utopian, but the choice before the world is between endeavours to attain that ideal and abandoning them as utopian and inviting in its train all the evils of social and economic conflict and destruction of the very foundations of humanity. The alternative, as stated, is not difficult to choose. But having decided that we can have peace and progress through ahimsa and love alone and not through conflict, pettymindedness and so on, we have to strive steadily and steadfastly to practise those ideals and utilise them as instruments for the national good. In the same way in the international sphere, the choice is between the perfection of atomic weapons, of the processes of bacteriological warfare and the hydrogen bomb on the one hand and the establishment of permanent peace through international understanding and through giving up power-politics on the other. In essence it means the elimination of national greed, exploitation of one country by the other and racial domination and exclusivism and colour prejudice.

To put it another way, the choice is between investing politics with a spiritual outlook and thus sublimating it as a means of promoting national prosperity and unity and international understanding and allowing politics to become the handmaid of those who pursue national ambitions and power-politics, all of which eventually result in the perpetuation of forces which lead to wars. In considering this matter, we may as well remember the words of one of the world's greatest military leaders, Napoleon Bonaparte, who said that "there are only two powers in the world—the power of the sword and the power of the spirit. In the long run the sword will always be conquered by the spirit." The Mahatma's lifework and his teachings, which do not draw any line of distinction between religion and politics, must be evaluated in the light of the above consideration. Lord Pethwick Lawrence, in a sketch of Gandhiji, has correctly estimated his work, when he said: "His kingdom like that of Christ or the Buddha was not of this world and it was moral emancipation of the country and his countrymen from the sins of sloth, cowardice, malice that was his over-riding passion. Nevertheless, unlike the founders of these two great religions, Gandhiji stepped down from the high plane of spiritual leadership to mingle in the arena of everyday life."

On this occasion, we have to ask ourselves the question: Has Gandhiji's last and greatest act of sacrifice been in vain? Has his martyrdom meant nothing tangible to his countrymen or the world? The answer will be an emphatic "no". Gandhiji's sacrifice has served to focus attention more and more on some of his most important teachings. It has induced the world to realise, that distress-stricken and war-distracted as it is, the only way through which it can attain the peace for which it has been hankering, but has not found it possible to attain so far, is by adopting them as its beacon-light and guide. Gandhiji is greater in death than he had been in life, and whatever may be the clouds that may have temporarily enveloped the glow of his life work, the great truths that he preached are bound to emerge brighter and more resplendent when the clouds clear. That will be when humanity turns its thoughts inward in search of lasting values. We live in the fond hope that it will soon do so.

India news chronicle 31-1-50

GANDHIJI'S IDEOLOGY OF NON-VIOLENCE

"Most Dynamic Force"

In an address recently delivered at the Institute of International Relations in Texas, U. S. A., Dr. Sushila Nayar, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, discusses the philosophy of non-violence.

By

SUSHILA NAYAR

WHAT Mahatma Gandhi has left behind is for the whole world and not for India alone. He lived and died for peace and goodwill upon earth, and he was convinced that it could never be achieved unless and until there was a living acceptance of the principles of truth and non-violence by mankind.

The ideology of non-violence is as old as the hills. It has been preached and practised by the sages from time immemorial in every country and every religion. But it was accepted only as the ideal for the individual, the man of God who had renounced the world. Mahatma Gandhi, with his clear and precise thinking, came to the conclusion that what was good and practical for one man must be so for the masses of mankind too. Similarly, he realized that life was one continuous whole. It could not be divided into separate compartments. If it was desirable for one to be truthful and non-violent in his personal life, it must be so in the social, economic and political spheres too.

He derived inspiration from the Bhagawadgita, the Sermon on the Mount, the writings of Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau, but it was left to him to put their theories into practice and demonstrate to the world that non-violence could be used to rectify every wrong, and that it could be practised on a mass scale as an effective substitute for war or violent revolution.

He started practising non-violent resistance or "Satyagraha" (meaning insistence on truth) by fighting the injustice of colour prejudice in South Africa. He had gone there to make his fortune as a barrister, but the injustice inflicted upon the Indian community there oppressed him, and he took up the fight for redressing their wrongs. The non-violent resistance movement organized by him kept him in that country for 20 years, and after the successful culmination of that struggle, he returned to India. There he used the same weapon to attain the freedom of India. You all are familiar with that struggle and its successful termination. No country in the world has had a bloodless revolution of that type.

SELF-SUFFERING

Mahatma Gandhi objected to the term Passive Resistence for his movement, for he believed that non-violence is the most dynamic force on earth. The weapon is infallible, but one who wishes to wield it must acquire the requisite qualification to do so. The principle is to convert the opponent to our own way of thinking by making him see his mistake. It is done through non-co-operation with the wrongdoer and through active civil resistance of what appears to us to be wrong and cheerfully suffering the consequences thereof. The last weapon in the armoury of a satyagrahi, or civil resister, is self-suffering through fasting, which serves the triple purpose of self-introspection, invoking the help of God and affecting the opponent's heart through self-suffering. But the self-suffering, in order to be effective, must be pure. The motive must be above selfish ends and aimed at the good of both sides. The satyagrahi must be full of love for the opponent and never harbour the least ill-will or desire for revenge or retaliation. Non-violence must never be used as a cloak for cowardice.

It requires a courage of a far superior type to die without killing than to die in the process of killing. And the utmost that one can do is to stake one's life for the defence of what one believes to be right.

A question might be asked if it is possible to make the sacrifices that are required in the practice of non-violent resistance. The answer is that the sacrifices involved in violent warfare are far greater in the long run and the results far poorer. Only the intoxication of war and violence makes it easier to make them at the time.

Another question often asked is whether it was the effectiveness of the non-violent struggle in India and the consequent change of heart that led to the British withdrawal, or whether it was the world situation that forced them to quit. Gandhiji's reply to that question was that he did not believe that it was the world situation which forced them to quit, but even if it were granted for the sake of argument, it detracted nothing from the efficacy of non-violence, for in human affairs there is always an unknown factor beyond human calculations. A living faith in God is absolutely necessary for one who will practise non-violence, said Mahatma Gandhi. For, there will be moments when there will be utter darkness and a blind wall in front. Nothing but a living faith will sustain a satyagrahi at such times. But if one perseveres, the way will open, and the unknown will produce situations which no one could have dreamt of.

Another argument often put forth is that non-violence succeeded against the British, as they are a civilized people. It would have never worked against Hitler or Stalin. Gandhiji's reply was that non-violence never fails. The harder the heart that has to be melted, the greater must be the suffering and sacrifice of the non-violent resisters, coupled with love and goodwill towards the oppressor. In other words, one must make a distinction between the sin and sinner, and while we must dislike and resist wrong, we must have nothing but goodwill and compassion towards the wrong-doer. Moreover, a non-violent resister must have his own hands clean. A small thief cannot hope to persuade a bigger thief to give up thievery through non-violence and self-suffering.

DECENTRALIZED ECONOMY

While Gandhiji presented the technique of Satyagraha or non-violent resistance as a potent means of securing justice in the domestic, social, national and international fields, he knew full well and emphasized the importance of constructive work as the basis of a non-violent social order. For that he insisted upon decentralized economy. Centralization places a power in the hands of a few, whether they may be the capitalists or the State itself, and, therefore, reduces the freedom of the individual.

He believed in the principle "to all according to their need, and from all according to their capacity", but it was to be accepted voluntarily. Moral pressure might have to be used to convert those who possessed far more than they needed to become trustees of their wealth, but he did not believe in beheading them. For violence never really solves any problem, though it might appear to do so at the moment. In his opinion the failure of the French and the Russian revolutions to achieve their high objectives was due to the fact that they used violence and even resorted to untruth to achieve them.

Besides voluntary sharing, there was emphasis on voluntary reduction of material wants as opposed to the drive to possess more and more. He presented the ideology of simple living and high thinking. He emphasized the importance of physical labour as a means of self-expression and creative joy and asked the people to use first the most wonderful machine given to them by God—their own two hands. When they had exhausted the potentialities thereof, they could use other means to supplement it so that the machine remained the servant of man and did not become his master, reducing him to a mere peg in the mechanical giant. Therefore, he emphasized the need for handicrafts and a system of education which trains the children's heads through developing the skill of their hands. This system of education, called 'Basic Education', is based on the same idea as progressive education in this country. Only it is more comprehensive and links up non-violence with education so as to turn the aggression of the child into creative channels from an early age.

He fought for the removal of untouchability and insisted upon the eradication of all distinctions based on caste, colour and creed. There was to be equal respect and regard for all religions, since all religions presented the same truth and there were good and bad men among the followers of all faiths. It was the practice of the spirit of religion that mattered, and not the labels. The practice of non-violence and truth in thought, word and deed, and exercise of self-control with regard to all so-called basic drives of man were the essential discipline which gave one the strength to work out a non-violent pattern of life based on the constructive programme.

NON-VIOLENCE IN PRACTICE

A question might be asked whether it is ever possible for all men to practise these high principles. Gandhiji's reply was that not all mankind consists of armed forces. Those who enlist in the army have to receive training in arms. Similarly the soldiers of non-violence must undergo training in non-violence. And just as not every soldier knows all the ins and outs of war policies, similarly in non-violence the general has to be familiar with the intricacis of the application of non-violence to various situations and formulate policies. The soldiers must obey, but they must have faith in the weapon that they are using, and must endeavour to follow the discipline necessary for the practice of non-violence.

War and violence have been glorified through the ages. If even a fraction of that effort were spent on making peace attractive, or if even a fraction of the effort spent on training armed forces were spent on providing training in non-violence, there is no limit to the potentialities of non-violence. India's non-violent struggle was conducted by masses who were utterly untrained, and the General, Mahatma Gandhi, also received training in the process of our struggle. Our non-violence was very imperfect, no doubt, but if that could achieve what it has done, how much more could real non-violence of the brave do? That is the lesson that Mahatma Gandhi has left to India and the world.

The essence of it all is that one can never achieve the right end by using the wrong means. As opposed to the doctrine, "the end justifies the means", Mahatma Gandhi held "Means are more important than the end. If you take care of the means, the end will take care of itself." His experiment proved that freedom can be won through non-violence. It remains for all free nations of the world, including India, to demonstrate that freedom can be maintained through non-violence. In fact, that is the only way of securing real freedom for the masses, of achieving true democracy. Half-hearted democracy of the present day cannot stand against the tide of Communism. The democracy preached by Mahatma Gandhi can and will, if we have the courage to follow his teachings.

SARVODAYA DAY: HUNDREDS VISIT BIRLA HOUSE AND RAJGHAT

Continued from page 1 col. 2

of men, women and children made their respectful offerings. The raised altar on the *samadhi* soon piled up with a huge heap of flowers and garlands.

WREATHS PLACED

Wreaths were also placed by the Dutch Ambassador, M Lamping, doyen of the diplomatic corps, on behalf of foreign missions in New Delhi. He was accompanied by Dr A. Mansfield, an attaché of the Dutch Embassy, and Mr D. P. Puri of the Protocol Division of the External Affairs Ministry. Earlier, the Pakistan High Commissioner sent a bouquet through Mufti Mohammad Abbas of the Pakistan Foreign Office.

Among those who visited Rajghat in the afternoon were Maulana Azad, Education Minister, and Gen. Cariappa, C.-in-C. At 5-15 p.m. a special prayer was held and was attended by Messrs Vyogi Hari, Brij Krishna Chandiwala, Nandlal Mehta and others.

The 24-hour spinning programme began at 5 p.m. About 17 people have specially come from Sevagram to participate in the programme.

A steady stream of visitors including a large number of serving soldiers came till late in the evening. Boys and girls marched in small processions to Rajghat throughout the day to make their offerings. Some of the devotees put coins in the collection box as they do in temples.

The D.P.C.C. has chalked out a 13-day programme to perpetuate Gandhiji's teachings. For the first five days there will be study classes dealing with the different aspects of Gandhiji's life and work. This will be followed by a labour day, a kisan day, a youth day, a U.N. day, a cooperative day, a *mahila* day and a *bal* day ending with an *asthi* procession to Rajghat on February 12.

BOMBAY

The National Flag flew half-mast on the top of all Government and public buildings in Bombay and business was completely suspended. The day was observed as a day of mourning in accordance with a directive of the Government of Bombay.

At the Congress House, headquarters of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, over a thousand persons including ministers of the provincial government, participated in a mass spinning in the morning. Presiding over a flag salutation function earlier, Mr S. K. Patil paid homage to the Father of the Nation and appealed to the people to abide by the message of Mahatma Gandhi namely, "peace and goodwill to all." He said that it was Gandhiji who revolutionized the concept of political life in the whole world by preaching the principles of truth and non-violence as the guiding slogans of the political struggle of this country. Until he started his mission, the world had never thought that a country would attain its independence by resorting to non-violence; and it was Gandhiji who translated those principles into reality and showed new light to the world.

The need for saving humanity from world wars, for synthesizing oriental and occidental civilizations, for basing material progress on the foundation of moral values and for a co-operative effort by the Government and the people to build up India of Gandhiji's dreams, was emphasized by Mr Morarji Desai, Minister for Home and Revenue, while paying a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi from the Bombay Station of All-India Radio, on Monday night. Like Krishna, Christ and Mohammed *Paygambar*, Gandhiji had become enshrined in millions and millions of hearts and transcending nationalist limits had become an international great man.

Recalling Gandhiji's message to India and to the world, he said: "Gandhiji believed that material progress devoid of moral basis would lead us nowhere but to periodical self-destruction. Gandhiji's message is an answer to the cry of war-tired and exasperated mankind which is at the cross-roads."

Mr Desai pointed out the items dearest to Gandhiji, namely, the removal of untouchability, uplift of women, prohibition and a programme of making the common man happy, and said that it was only by the united efforts of the people and government that Gandhiji's dream of 'Ram Rajya' could be fulfilled.

Referring to Gandhiji's tragic death, he said that it was not an isolated act but it came out of a certain atmosphere of violence and hatred that then prevailed in the country. We are happy that we have been able to combat it, and must see that hatred and violence do not mar the peace of the country again.

JUBBULPORE

The city observed hartal on the Sarvodaya Day, all business establishments, excepting eating houses and chemists' shops were closed. Courts, schools and Government offices also observed a holiday.

Mass spinning was arranged at several places in the city. Mass prayers were held at Tilakbhumi, where Gandhiji's favourite songs were sung and *Ramdhun* recited. A public meeting was also held under the auspices of the City Congress Committee, at which homage was paid to the Father of the Nation by several speakers.

INDORE

All business was suspended in the city on the day and the national flag flew at half-mast over all public buildings.

A mass prayer meeting was held in the morning in the Town Hall.

MIRAJ

Miraj observed the second martyrdom anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi in a solemn manner. Spinning and prayers in temples were the main items of the programme. The city observed hartal. Tilanjali would be offered to Gandhiji on February 12 on the Krishna river ghat.

ALLAHABAD

Prabhat pheris were taken out in the morning from different mohallas of the city, and a procession organized by the City Congress Committee passed through the main thoroughfares of the city, singing *Ramdhun* and *bhajans*. The City Congress Committee also organized a *charkha yagna* (sacrificial spinning) on the occasion. The city observed complete hartal.

The Allahabad station of All India Radio broadcast a special programme on the occasion, which included recitation of *Ramdhun* and readings from the Gita, the Quran and the Bible. The Harijan Ashram made collections for constructing a Gandhi Sahitya Bhawan.

The Allahabad Municipal Board has organized a Gandhi exhibition, which will remain open till February 12, the day on which Gandhiji's *asthi* was immersed in the Sangam.

CUTTACK

Prabhat pheris were taken out in the morning. Later the national flag was hoisted at the Swaraj Ashram by Pandit Pranakrishna Padhiary, followed by a mass prayer.

Twenty-four-hour *akhand* spinning started in the morning. Recitations from the holy scriptures, including the Bhagwad Gita, the Bible and the Quran were also given.

BARODA

Over 200 attended a mass prayer organized by the City Congress Committee at the Jubilee Gardens, Baroda, to celebrate the second anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's martyrdom. The prayer was followed by a mass spinning lasting an hour.

The city observed complete hartal and all shops, educational institutions and offices remained closed.

A 24-hour *akhand Ramdhun* recitation commenced at 9 p.m. on Sunday.

AMRITSAR

The day was observed at Amritsar in a befitting manner. There were public prayers in the Congress office in the morning, when *Ramdhun* was recited and homage paid to the Father of the Nation. Garlands were placed round Gandhiji's photo. Other features were mass spinning and *kirtan* by Harijans.

On the occasion Mr Narindar Singh, Deputy Commissioner, some scouts, Congress workers and officials donated blood to the blood bank.

AHMEDABAD

About 20,000 textile operatives of Ahmedabad assembled near what they call "the immortal *Babul* tree" on the banks of the River Sabarmati where Mahatma Gandhi launched the first labour strike in Ahmedabad in 1917.

After prayers they reiterated their pledge to follow the Gandhian principles of truth and non-violence.

Calcutta's Homage To Gandhiji

SOLEMN CEREMONY AT BARRACKPORE GHAT

(From Our Special Correspondent)

CALCUTTA, Jan. 30.—Mahatma Gandhi's death anniversary was observed by Calcutta today with impressive solemnity. Wreaths were offered at Gandhi Ghat, Barrackpore, by several hundreds of people, who had gone on a pilgrimage to that distant suburb to honour the memory of the Father of the Nation. One noticeable feature of the function was a few educated youths, said to have had some association with the Communist Party, shed silent tears, which moved the crowds assembled on the occasion. Offering of wreaths was followed by mass spinning and singing of Gandhiji's favourite song *Ram Dhun*.

Dr. Katju, the Governor, participated in a spinning programme in which all sections of people took part at Government House. Special prayers were offered at all places of public worship including the well-known temples of Kali at Kalighat and Dakshineswar. Ceremonies at Dakshineswar were simple and impressive. The monks of the Ramakrishna Mission gathered together at Paramahamsa's *samadhi* at Belur *mutt* and offered prayers.

All newspapers featured Gandhiji's services to India and humanity and paid tributes to his memory. The Writers' Building (originally constructed by John Company and the first seat of Clive's activities) was the scene of a solemn ceremony early morning, when on behalf of the Ministers, special wreaths were placed on the full-size painting of Gandhiji in the historic pose of crossing bamboo bridge at Noakhali.

PREMIER'S TRIBUTES

Dr B. C. Roy, Premier, in a voice full of emotion said: "Words fail me on this solemn occasion. Gandhiji was incomparable great. You could compare Gandhiji with himself alone. In our generation, he was a Sun round whom other planets moved. It would be a crime to forget his colossal sacrifices which awakened us to a sense of our national honour and status in the comity of nations. Gandhiji's peerless greatness would go down to history written in characters of gold to receive the countless blessings of the next generation. Mahatmaji was a hero worth living for, worth fighting for, and worth dying for."

Other Ministers also paid similar tributes, particularly Mr P. C. Sen, who said that if only the nation remembered Gandhiji, most of our problems would be automatically solved.

Simla's Tributes

(From Our Staff Correspondent)

SIMLA, Jan. 30.—A public meeting was held here this evening to commemorate the second death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. Pandit Hari Ram Sharma, Vice-President, Simla District Congress Committee, presided. Love was a more potent force than all the weapons in the armoury of the nations today, the speakers said. Love brought a lasting victory whereas armaments did not and could not do so. The greatest tribute we can pay him is to follow his teachings and not fritter away our love for him by erecting monuments and delivering empty speeches. The world was in sore need of his teachings. Free Bharat should see to it that his teachings, like that of the Buddha, were not lost in the land in which they were propagated.

Business quarters here remained closed in the afternoon and the flags flew at half mast on Government and private buildings.

Hindustan Times 31-1-53

INDIA MUST NOT ABANDON METHOD OF PEACE

Nehru Tells People To Face Violent Elements

CO-OPERATION WITH GOVT. ALONE WILL YIELD GOOD RESULTS

Social Revolution Should Precede Economic Changes

(By Our Special Correspondent)

NEW DELHI, Monday.—Emphasizing the need for the country to follow the basic teachings of Mahatma Gandhi both at home and in its foreign policy, the Prime Minister in his address at a public meeting held this evening in observance of Gandhiji's second death anniversary, called upon the people to co-operate with the Government fully realizing their responsibilities as citizens of the Indian Republic.

Pandit Nehru said he wondered at the folly of those obviously unbalanced persons who thought they could influence either the Government or the people at large by throwing bombs, burning trams or creating other disturbances as was being done in Calcutta. It was the people's responsibility to prevent the use of such violent methods in politics. As taught by Mahatma Gandhi they should use peaceful means and conduct themselves in a civilized manner.

Persuasive in his reasoning, the Prime Minister explained how it would benefit the country to follow the path of peace shown by Mahatma Gandhi. The world had had two great, destructive wars in 30 years and thanks to fear and hatred preparations were being made for a third. Nobody seemed to appreciate the utter futility and folly of using war as a means to peace.

India had learnt the lesson from Mahatma Gandhi who had shown that there was no need of fear or hostility. India had fought Britain for decades. The pledge taken on the banks of the Ravi 20 years ago had been fulfilled. There was, however, no hatred for Britain. Having once used the method of peace, India should not abandon it.

The Prime Minister mentioned the no-war proposal made to Pakistan and hoped that, in spite of the memories of the massacre and destruction of two and a half years ago, such an agreement would be possible. Once armed conflict was ruled out, a proper atmosphere would be created for the solution of all outstanding disputes between the two countries.

ANTI-INDIAN HYSTERIA

The amount of hatred for India shown by the Pakistan Press was amazing. There was a kind of anti-Indian hysteria, which was not a sign of strength. There were threats of war and conflict. All this was utterly unnecessary. Actually it showed fear when there was no need for fear.

In its foreign policy India had, though haltingly, tried to follow the path of peace shown by Gandhiji. The eyes of Asia and of the world were on India for, besides any other consideration, India was a large country and what was done here would not be without effect elsewhere. India had, therefore, to act with farsightedness.

Secondly, it was India which had tried Gandhiji's peaceful methods in politics and people in other countries wanted to see how free India would make use of those methods.

A HISTORIC EVENT

The emergence of India as a republic was a historic event. A revolution had taken place in the country. But some people did not realize how great a change had come about because the process of transformation was unaccompanied by large-scale violence. People should understand the significance of the change and realizing their new responsibilities help those in Government to lead the country to progress. Rapid progress would be possible only through joint effort.

Speaking as the Prime Minister, he could tell them that while he accepted the full responsibility of the high office he had been elected to, the people themselves must direct their energies to creating a new force for national advancement. Their role was not to look on or cheer those who were working. Each one should join in the task so that the power of the nation could be harnessed to help India towards progress.

HOW TO FIGHT EVIL

Once again emphasizing the fundamental teachings of Gandhiji, the Prime Minister said that evil should be fought but not with evil. There should be no bending before threats and no acceptance of tyranny, but in fighting evil people should not take the wrong path.

Pandit Nehru declared that under the new Constitution a great election would take place and those elected would form the government. He hoped that people while entering a new epoch of their history would adhere to peaceful means and would not indulge in rowdyism or violence.

Kaka Kalekar, who presided, emphasized that as long as caste and other distinctions continued and there was inequality, injustice would continue. Gandhiji taught the people to fight injustice and he hoped full attention would be paid to the need of having a social revolution after which economic changes would be easy.

The meeting began with the prayer standardized at Gandhiji's prayer meetings. Verses from the Gita and the Quran were recited and devotional songs sung.

PRESIDENT TAKES PART IN MASS SPINNING

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

Sarvodaya Day—Mahatma Gandhi's death anniversary—was observed yesterday morning in Delhi with quiet solemnity. Early in the morning Dr Rajendra Prasad, President, drove to Birla House and, under the starlit sky, he stood in silence for a few minutes near the spot where Gandhiji was assassinated two years ago.

The cemented altar which was built over the spot where his last blood drops fell was decorated with garlands and flowers. Gandhiji's usual morning *'ashram* prayers were conducted by his disciple, Shri Vivogi Hari, of the Harijan Colony. Passages from the Gita, Upanishads, and the Koran were recited and one of Bapu's favourite *bhajans* sung.

Among others who attended this short but touching ceremony were Mr Jagjivan Ram, Mr Pyarelal, Mr G. D. Birla, Mr Brij Krishen Chandiwala, Miss Amtus Salam, Mrs Devadas Gandhi, Mrs Rameshwari Nehru and Mr Radha Raman.

The vast, simple but dignified quadrangle surrounding Gandhiji's *samadhi* at Rajghat resounded with *Ramdhun* and verses from the Gita with background music provided by A.I.R.

The President and the Prime Minister visited Rajghat at 7-30 a.m. and stood in prayer in front of the *samadhi* for a few minutes. Others who offered prayers included Sardar Patel, Mr N. V. Gadgil, Mr Jagjivan Ram, Mrs V. L. Pandit, India's Ambassador in the U.S.A., Mrs Indira Gandhi, Miss Maniben Patel, Mrs Sucheta Kripalani, Kaka Kalelkar, Mr Pyarelal and Mr Mahavir Tyagi.

Later the President and the Prime Minister participated in mass spinning organized by the D.P.C.C. which started at 9 a.m. Among others who joined the spinning were Mr Jagjivan Ram, Mr Shankarrao Deo, the wife and sister of Dr Rajendra Prasad, and Mr Radha Raman, President of the D.P.C.C. Dr Prasad used a portable *charkha*.

The spinning concluded at 10 a.m amidst shouts of *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai*. Enthusiastic crowds who had sat in silence broke the cordon and rushed towards Dr Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Nehru and showered flowers on them.

Sunday night's cloudy weather cleared in the morning and Rajghat was bathed in bright sunshine with a cool exhilarating breeze blowing from across the Jumna as a steady stream

Continued on back page col. 1

The Bombay Chronicle

3-1-52

RIGHTS AND DUTIES

In his radio talk on Gandhi Day, Mr. Morarji Desai referred to the Gandhian view of rights and duties, and asked people to think more of their duties. As Gandhiji himself put it in a letter to Dr. Julian Huxley, "I learnt from my illiterate but wise mother that all rights to be deserved and preserved come from duty well done. Thus the very right to life accrues to us only when we do the duty of citizenship of the world. From this one fundamental statement, perhaps it is easy enough to define the duties of Man and Woman and correlate every right to some corresponding duty first performed. Every other right can be shown to a usurpation hardly worth fighting for." Like most of Gandhiji's assertions, this statement is so self-evident that it is hard to quarrel with it. But the whole trouble arises from the difficulty of getting the corresponding right which a duty performed entitles one to. For human beings who move on a less exalted plane, it is very essential that some certainty exists of getting the rights after their duties are performed. In other words, it is a question of how to prevent "usurpation" by others. Practically, one finds that persons who advise others not to talk of think too much of their rights but get on with the work of performing their duties have either no experience of the dutiful being balked of their rights or suffer from no sense of rights withheld. At any rate, in the context of existing conditions, with the United Nations committed to a Charter of Human Rights and our own Constitution embracing Justice, Equality, Liberty and Fraternity and guaranteeing Fundamental Rights, it is too late to dispose of the question of rights so perfunctorily. Mr. Morarji Desai referred to the ideal conditions which would exist if everyone, Government and People, did their duty. But why speak of perfection in a world which is essentially imperfect, or why speak of duties at all if there were perfection in our society? There is another point which might be also mentioned here. There are occasions when even the performance of a duty becomes a right to be asserted. In an article on the "Rights and duties concerning creative expression", Dr. J. M. Burgers observes: "The freedom of publicly communicating their discoveries for all scientific workers entails the duty to give attention to what comes out of the application of their work and to the conditions of the world in which they are working. They must devote part of their time to help the public to understand the meaning and importance of scientific findings; they must give advice in those cases where their work influences social relations or where new applications become possible; they must make investigations regarding these matters and make known their results and views. The positions in which they are working must afford them the necessary freedom for this." The remarks hold true of other aspects of freedom as well. Rights and duties are closely interwined, and we can do no better than make sure that we have done all we could in enabling people to discharge their duties before asking them to perform them as a preliminary to getting their rights; most often, this enabling will itself meet the needs of the situation.

NOTICE

All communications intended for publication in the National Herald must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer not necessarily for publication but as a guarantee of good faith. In preparing MS for the press correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only and to address their communications to the editor and not to any member of the staff by name. Attention to the rule will save inconvenience and delay.

No article will be paid for unless there is an understanding to that effect. Rejected articles will not be returned unless adequate postage is enclosed by the contributor.

Contributors are requested to bear in mind that in view of shortage of space articles should be as short as possible.

31-1-50

NATIONAL HERALD

SARVODAYA?

January 30 began in New Delhi with a mass prayer at Birla House, which has acquired sanctity without changing its name—but it seems to us not propagation of Mahatma Gandhiji's message but advertisement of somebody else's goods. On this day, as on October 2, Gandhi's message is preached, explained and annotated throughout the country with a formal reverence which shows the utter futility of obeisance to a man who did not want it. On such days we are made to feel that we have only succeeded in making a god of Gandhi. The second anniversary of his death has this difference from the first, that Godse has been hanged and that the Constitution has been promulgated. Instead of saying things about Gandhi which could be as well said on any other day of the year, we wish to see how far we have advanced—or r e t r e a t e d—from Gandhi. Godse, for instance, is dead; is the Godse spirit dead? We have reasons to believe that it is dying and that the fears entertained by those who advocated clemency for Godse have been falsified. As each day passes Gandhi's life looks more distant and we seem to be moving away from him in time. But on January 30, 1948, we, along with the world, were shocked into a sublimity which has grown stronger. Opposition to Gandhi or his ideas is less today, though it does not mean that his ideas are better followed now. But the Godse spirit is not dead, the intolerance of good-will towards other communities, of passion for the universality of all religions, of the boundless oneness of life, for which Gandhi died. It will require more years of the present resolute leadership, which, whatever its shortcomings, is loyal to the central theme of Gandhi's message. If the now small voice of communalism is allowed to gather strength, and there is strength within the Congress itself, Gandhi's victory in death cannot be said to be final.

What about the Constitution? It has been criticised—and it is easy to invoke Gandhi—on the ground that it does not provide for the utmost decentralization and that it has not made panchayats the main pillar. A constitution is a statement of the main principles by which a state is governed and, rather elaborately, of the various organs of government. Gandhi's ideas embody a whole concept of life and it does not depend on the framework of a constitution but on the spirit of living which fills it. Some of Gandhi's ideas are incorporated wholesale into the Constitution, removal of untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, abolition of separate electorates, which apart from the wholesale transfer of power is the main departure from the Government of India Act—which critics of the Constitution and admirers of the act should not forget. Almost all of Gandhi's other ideas are embodied in the Directive Principles of Policy, which added to adult suffrage are a wholehearted aim, a programme of action to which all parties have to pledge themselves. If it is argued that the Directive Principles are not enough and that Gandhi's ideas must be put into effect immediately, it amounts to criticism of the Government, not of the Constitution. Let us recognize that, while he may have failed to make the individual rise in moral stature, Gandhi has had some effect on our political life as a whole. Even Congress corruption cannot discount the encouraging thought. If the future political set-up is similarly inspired, there will be a good chance for Gandhi's ideas. But it is doubtful. The Constitution can be Gandhian only if the people who work it and the government of the day are Gandhian.

Something may be said about the sarvodaya plan which has been released for publication on behalf of the still active constructive workers who believe in Gandhi's ideal of sarvodaya. The plan envisages "the fulfilment of the individual and social personality of man, under a pattern of life in which the regions would tend more and more to be self-sufficient in the objects of material well-being and co-operative in social, moral and cultural pursuits". "Regions" is too large a word to give any idea of the demands or self-sufficiency. But little purpose will be served by discussion of the plan of plain living outlined without knowing more about its economic implications. For they are important when sarvodaya emphasizes "equal opportunity for all" and "the full and proper utilization of human, animal and natural resources". And what does "requisite standard of life" mean? A minimum income of Rs. 100 seems fair enough to be attained "as early as possible". Again it would be helpful to be told if the sarvodaya aim that "land should vest in the tiller, there being no place for intermediaries" is being fulfilled in the U.P. scheme of bhumidhars or not. Has the tiller to till actually or not? If we have properly understood the plan, it seems to us that to say that "the idea of proprietorship in which the owner could use or misuse land as he likes is incongruous with the economic and social needs of our times" is to condemn the U.P. plan. A land army is advocated; so also collective farms and agro-industries. On decentralization, the plan embodies clear thinking which is rare on this problem. There is to be "centralized control and production" for defence industries, power, metallurgy, forestry, chemicals, machine tools and so on. This is what advocates of centralization also say. We have always felt that when decentralization and centralization are properly explained little difference will be found between the advocates of the one and those of the other. Under sarvodaya centralized industries should be viewed as auxiliaries to decentralized industries, which is a good idea at the proper time. When it is stated that decentralized industries should be socialized on payment of compensation, the very uniformity of socialization needs centralization which will become more and more obvious in good time. But it is not necessary to argue the point further; we are sure that when decentralization experts work the economy they envisage, they will advance much further. There is to be no place for foreign concerns and we agree wholeheartedly. The use of money is to be reduced to the minimum which is a very good idea. No military training is to invade the field of education; we are not told the exact place of physical education. Altogether the sarvodaya plan is very near Gandhi's ideas. How are these ideas to be put into practice? Is the Congress still expected to give a helping hand? Perhaps, for some of the signatories of the plan are active Congress politicians. If the Congress is to be relied upon, the first task should be to make Congressmen give up power politics and take to sarvodaya. Other parties can also help for Gandhi's heritage is for all. But if sarvodaya is to be realizable, it is necessary to reduce wants, to work for a simple economy, to stop competing with the outside world and even to admit that, while decentralization may be a socialist aim, it is not socialism.

H.B. Patrika 9-2-50

Gandhi And Basic Education: Reminiscence

By MARGARET BARR. M.A.

There are probably very few British people to whom it has been given to spend their first few days in India at the Ashram of Mahatma Gandhi. I am one of the few. In 1933 when I went to India my eldest sister was in residence at his Ashram, under training as one of his village workers, and before proceeding to my first post at the Gokhale Memorial School, Calcutta, I dropped off the train at Wardha to stay with her and meet Mr. Gandhi and see something of the India that he represented. At the time I was pledged to at least two years' work in an expensive city school, but I knew then, and after meeting him was more sure than ever, that ultimately and at no distant date, my work would be some where in rural India. It was this conviction combined with what I had heard of the courageous little Khasi Unitarian Church, that took me two years later to start work in the Khasi Hills.

All through the years I have never lost touch with Gandhi. On two subsequent occasions I visited the Ashram, and I have several much-treasured letters from him. Always he encouraged me to carry on with the work I was doing. For though he disliked the proselytising type of missionary work he never had anything but the most helpful and enthusiastic encouragement for anyone who he believed to have the welfare of the villagers at heart.

The climax came in 1946 when I went for the last time to Sevagram to to make an intensive study of Basic Education (as the new Gandhian type of craft-centred education is called) in order that I might co-operate with the Government of Assam, who had decided to introduce it throughout the Province. My arrival coincided with the outbreak of terrible communal riots in Bengal. In fact, had I been one day later I might never have reached Sevgram at all. Some Assamese students who travelled a day later had to return to Assam from Calcutta as it was a sheer impossibility to cross the city to the station from which the Wardha train leaves.

Two days later Gandhi decided that he must go to Bengal there to remain until peace and friendship between Hindu and Muslim was restored. Though none of us knew it then, it was his last farewell to his Ashram. For after Bengal came Punjab and for nearly a year and a half he laboured, as only he knew how to establish peace in those two inflammable provinces. And before he could return to Sevagram the bullet was fired which took him from us for ever.

The afternoon before he left the Ashram he sent for me to talk about Basic Education. He urged me to make it the second language in my schools, reserving the teaching of English for those children who were going on for higher education. For half an hour the interview lasted and at the end of it he recommended me to the care of one of the most capable of his village workers, an injunction which was most faithfully obeyed, not only by the worker in question but by all the staff of the Basic Education Centre. He left early the next morning and I never saw him again.

After learning all I could about Basic Education I returned to the Khasi Hills and proceeded to try and introduce some of what I had learnt into my school. As mine was the only school in the Khasi Hills where any interest was taken in Basic Education it was hardly surprising that a few months later I was asked by the Government to allow them to take it over and turn it into a Basic Training School with myself as principal for as long as I cared to remain. I consented on certain conditions, one of which was that I should send five of my competent teachers to Sevagram for Basic Training so that on their return I should be able to hand the school over to them and myself move into the interior to embark at long last upon the Rural Training Centre which has for so many years been the goal of all my striving.

Thus it comes about that since March 1948, I have been in the employ of the Government of Assam, training teachers for Basic Schools and holding the Training School together until the Khasi women who was to succeed me as principal and for four colleagues, returned from Sevagram last April fully trained to carry on without me.

Of all the many constructive, dynamic movements which India owes to Gandhi I believe that Basic Education is the most far-sighted and the most far-reaching. If it can grow and spread as he intended and if it can continue to be actuated by his spirit of service to the lowliest, his high ideals of citizenship and his profound religious faith, there is no doubt at all as to the tremendous part it can play in the new India—the India of to-day and tomorrow. But there are big "Ifs", and there is an immense, even frightening, responsibility on the shoulders of all who knew him and loved him and shared some at least of his ideals. Those who are running the Sevagram centre are doing their share nobly and we hope are working in the field as most of us too. Most Europeans who have been in India are coming home now, if they have not already done so, feeling that they are not wanted and no longer have a place there. I, on the contrary, have never felt so sure of my place there as I do now. For there is so much that his untimely death left unfinished, which I, in my small corner, can help to carry forward. He wanted to see centres for the training of rural workers all over rural India. That is what I want to see in the Khasi Hills, which is one small part of rural India. He wanted a Basic School in every village. I want to help to put one in every Khasi village. He wanted health and maternity centres accessible to every Khasi villager. He wanted the teaching of religion in such a way as to bring out the harmony of the message of the world's great teachers instead of sectarian conflict. He wanted children to grow with a true understanding of their own religion and a deep respect for those of others. And this is what my religious work has always aimed at. So clearly is this realised by his friends and followers of Sevagram that they have asked me to prepare a handbook for teachers on religious instruction which they may use in Basic training. For though the teaching of religion on these lines is one of the Basic syllabus, most of the Training Schools have scarcely started to do it as yet owing to the lack of suitable textbooks.

In many respects the ideas and ideals of Hajam Kisson Singh, the founder of the Khasi Unitarian Church, were in harmony with those of Gandhi, so that in working for the one there has never been and never could be any conflict with the other. In this, by being a Unitarian I have been more fortunate than my sister who had to give up her missionary work on becoming a "Gandhi-ite". Any reader of the Inquirer who reads her little book on Bapu, will have no difficulty in understanding why I too am proud to be a "Gandhi-ite" and how much the work that I am trying to do in the Khasi Hills owes to the inspiration and example of that remarkable man.—"The Inquirer."

Hindustan Times 23.2.50

KASTURBA GANDHI DEATH ANNIVERSARY

DR PRASAD ASKS KISANS TO GROW MORE FOOD

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

An earnest appeal to kisans to strive for "self-sufficiency" on the food front was made yesterday by the President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, in his first public address in a rural area since the assumption of office. "The real progress of India depended on the prosperity and well-being of lakhs and lakhs of our villages," he said.

The President made the appeal at a largely attended public meeting held in observance of the sixth death anniversary of Shrimati Kasturba Gandhi at Bakhtawarpur 14 miles from Delhi.

Dr Prasad said that the real progress of the country depended on the uplift of villages. Mahatma Gandhi realized their importance long ago and made them the base of his constructive programme. It was as if he "left us a will directing us to devote our time and energy for improving the condition of the masses in the countryside." It was on account of his incessant stress on the importance of rural development that the funds collected for the Kasturba Trust had been set apart for the uplift of women and children in the rural areas.

The President reminded the villagers that a heavy responsibility developed on them following the advent of freedom. It was a matter of shame and grief that they did not produce the foodstuffs needed for the country's population. They had not merely to grow all the food required but also to produce other commodities which could be exported for obtaining "essential things from abroad."

Dr Prasad was confident that if the people in the countryside had the necessary determination and will they could easily make up the food deficiency. If the yield from a field which at present produced 10 maunds of food grains could be raised by one maund the existing deficit could be easily met. Being confident that the people would co-operate in the task, the Government of India had decided not to import food grains from abroad next year. All that was needed was that efforts should be made to convince people about their duty in this matter.

Referring to the work that was being carried on by the Kasturba Trust, Dr Prasad said that a few years ago it was decided that the money collected by the Trust should be utilized for the welfare of women and children in the rural areas. In accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's wishes, village centres were started throughout India to train workers and *sevikas* who could undertake social service.

In spite of many difficulties, trained women workers were spreading out in the countryside and the work was expanding. A large number of centres had sprung up all over India and a day would soon come when there would be trained workers in almost all villages to undertake the "entire responsibility of serving their people."

Referring to political changes in the country, Dr Prasad said that the new Constitution had conferred on them adult franchise. That meant that every citizen would be a ruler as well as the ruled and "any one of you can without any let or hindrance acquire the same position which you have conferred on me." Along with these rights the responsibility that had devolved on them should not be overlooked.

On his arrival in the village, Dr Prasad was welcomed by Mr A. V. Thakkar and garlanded by *gram sevikas*.

Thereafter, Shrimati Sushila Pai, Assistant Secretary of the Kasturba Trust, read out a report of work of the Trust since its incention and said that today there were 225 village centres throughout India and in the course of the last five years over 500 *gram sevikas* and 60 maternity *sevikas* had been trained, who were now rendering useful service in various villages. In the last five years, she said, the Trust had spent Rs 20,00,000 out of the total trust fund of Rs 1,30,00,000, and expressed the fear that in view of the increase in the work of centres, they might have to spend the whole amount if more funds were not forthcoming. Sardar Patel, who was the chairman of the Trust, had already issued an appeal for more funds towards that object, she added.

Shrimati Sushila Pai disclosed that the *gram sevikas* had succeeded in stopping gambling and drinking in many villages and were slowly trying to bring a social revolution among the villagers.

Shrimati Rameshwari Nehru, agent of the Punjab and Delhi provincial branch of the Trust, in the course of her report said that five Kasturba centres were rendering service to the villagers of the province. In Bakhtawarpur alone, there was one maternity centre and a village hospital. Relating some of the difficulties that they were facing, she said that the Trust needed sincere women who had a spirit of service and were eager to serve in villages.

Dr Prasad was accompanied by his personal staff and some members of his family.

Prominent among those who attend the function were Mrs Mavalankar, wife of the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Laxmidas Purushottam, Secretary of the Gandhi Memorial Trust, Mrs Humayun Kabir, Shrimati Janakidevi Bajaj, Mrs Jaishree Rajee, M.P., and Mr Kamalnayan Bajaj.

Dr Prasad To Open Geeta Bhavan At Hardwar

Dr Rajendra Prasad will perform the opening ceremony of Geeta Bhavan at Hardwar on March 5, it is announced.

Geeta Bhavan which has been constructed by the Sanatam Dharam Pritinidhi Sabha at a cost of Rs 5 lakhs on the banks of the Ganga will be utilized for research in Hindu philosophy.—P.T.I.

28

H.T. 25.2.52

From This Week's "Harijan"

Gandhiji—The Last Phase

By SHRI PYARELAL

III

BUT God has His own way of answering men's prayers. The Muslim League came into the Interim Government on October 15. Gandhiji now felt free to return to Sevagram where a number of appointments were awaiting him, and a date was fixed for his departure. But Providence had willed it otherwise.

On October 15 came the news of widespread communal disturbances in Noakhali, accompanied by wholesale arson, looting, forcible conversion and marriages, murder, abduction and rape which set the pace for similar happenings in other parts of India. An indescribable darkness seized his soul, and instead of returning to Sevagram he set out for Noakhali. Little did any one dream then that he was setting out on a "Do or Die" mission which, in its turn, would become the precursor of a series of "Do or Die" missions to end only on that fateful Friday on January 30, 1948, when he crossed the bar and passed from the darkness of the soul into the presence of that

"light unsufferable,
And that far-beaming blaze of majesty."

There were many hurdles to be crossed before he could get to Noakhali. Each one of them carried a challenge which might have baffled any ordinary mortal. Shaheed Suhrawardy stopped him in Calcutta. Many mistrusted his motives. Gandhiji's answer was to "go into his pocket" and to agree to postpone his visit to Noakhali while the peace of the City that had for months before been burning was consolidated. Thereby he put upon the Chief Minister the onus and burden of preserving the peace in Noakhali. The four days' work which he put in Calcutta in collaboration with the Chief Minister proved to be pregnant with results and indeed laid the foundation of all his subsequent work in Noakhali. An even more serious challenge was that of Bihar. He met it by mortgaging his life to insure the safety and protection of the Muslim community in Bihar.

LONE WRESTLER WITH GOD

In Noakhali he began by "burning his boats" and declaring that he could not leave that place till real heartunity had been established between the Hindus and Muslims in Noakhali. The progress was none too reassuring. The Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries of the Muslim League Government of Bengal who had undertaken to stay with him in Noakhali and implement the declarations which they had made with the consent and backing of the Muslim League Government, left him after a few days and never returned. The opposition of the Muslim League organization in Noakhali against the continuation of his stay there swelled and swelled, and in the end the Chief Minister of Bengal himself joined in the chorus demanding that he leave Noakhali and transfer his activities to Bihar. The farther he ventured out into the uncharted sea of the dark unknown, the stormier and more unfathomable it seemed to become. Colleagues and co-workers in India felt perturbed to see him getting into deeper and deeper waters while the fate of India was being decided, as they felt, in New Delhi. The Noakhali situation could not be remedied while discord prevailed at the top. And the situation at the Centre was daily becoming more and more hopelessly tangled.

Gandhiji felt otherwise. In so far as top leadership of the Muslim League was concerned, he felt that there was no further room for activity short of surrender of principles. But in Noakhali there was room and plenty of it for action amongst the masses of Hindus and Muslims. Their needs were common, their difficulties and problems were common and admitted of a common solution. He would go and live in their midst, become one of them, teach them to better their lives, banish ignorance, poverty and disease, and share with them the faith in and worship of one God Who is the same for both Hindus and Muslims. When he had thus entered their mind and helped them to enter into his mind, then would perhaps come the time when the atmosphere would change and sweetness prevail between Hindus and Muslims where sourness prevailed before. When the Muslims would see the underlying unity between what he was doing and his attitude in regard to the proposition which he was contesting with them, the latter would lose its sting. As with the atom, so with the universe. If real peace could be established in any distant corner of India, it would start a chain reaction which would fill the whole of India—nay, the whole world.

ROCK OF AGES

"My *ahimsa* is neither maimed nor weak. It is all-powerful. Where there is *ahimsa*, there is Truth, and Truth is God. How He manifests Himself, I cannot say. All I know is that He is all-pervading and where He is, all is well. There is, therefore, one law for all. Wherever in the world Truth and Non-violence reign supreme, there is peace and bliss. That these exist nowhere shows that they are hidden from man for the time being, but they cannot disappear for ever. That faith must sustain the faithful," he had declared on the eve of his departure to Noakhali. To test that philosophy and that faith he had gone to Noakhali. And now the magic did not seem to work. The fault could not be in the weapon, he argued, which was unfailing, but in himself or in his capacity to wield it. Satyagraha he held to be an exact science with laws as objective and precise as those of physical science. But to discover them one has need of a pure and infinite patience which in practice means reducing oneself to zero and entirely throwing oneself upon God. He divested himself of his companions and took up sojourn in a solitary semi-devastated hut in the tiny riot-scurred village of Srirampur, to test himself through a series of tests, some small, some big, and some altogether transcendental. Not satisfied with that, after a month, he set forth on his non-stop pilgrimage in Noakhali on foot from hut to hut and from village to village on a one-night-one-village plan. And when he felt the call, he proceeded to Bihar—not under anybody's dictation but because he had convincing evidence that his presence in Bihar was necessary for the well-being of the riot-affected Muslim minority there.

All this while the Noakhali situation had continued to present the appearance of a stalemate! That was not his concern. His concern was with himself. Was his surrender to God His will complete? He began to depend more and more upon the efficacy of *Ramanama* or the recitation of God's name as a panacea for all his physical ills, stopped taking all drugs and medicines, and refused to let his blood-pressure be taken by his medical attendants. His refusal after the bomb explosion at Birla House to let anybody coming to attend his evening prayer gatherings be searched for hidden weapons in spite of earnest entreaties of Sardar Patel was again in keeping with and an integral part of this attitude. While at prayer, above all, when he had put himself under God's sole protection, he wanted no other protection, or else his faith in the former was a make-believe and a farce. As his self-surrender to God deepened, the potency of his non-violence grew more and more irresistible. It was demonstrated during his Calcutta fast, and in a still greater measure during his last Delhi fast when the spontaneous flood of congratulatory messages and telegrams from Pakistan at the successful termination of the fast while the soil under the feet was still sodden with communal bloodshed of the most unprecedented magnitude, reflected all the character of an atomic chain reaction.

A TESTAMENT OF FAITH

Partition had come in spite of him. He had accepted it as a *fait accompli*. But if there was true non-violence in him even Partition could be made to shed its virus and the fundamental unity of mankind to assert itself among the Hindus and Muslims of India in spite of the partition. A Muslim leader of Pakistan who met him soon after envisaged a fifty-mile procession of Hindus returning to Pakistan with Gandhiji at the head, and the idea enthralled him. There was the Kashmir fight. He had accepted it even as he had the partition, not that he was reconciled to it or had in any way changed his fundamental attitude on war and the possibility of eliminating it by non-violent mass action; but because he was still engaged in perfecting the weapon—which though it had demonstrated its matchless efficacy so far in the struggle for India's independence needed to be rebuilt or perhaps redesigned to perform the duty that now confronted it in the new set-up. That it could be so redesigned he had not the slightest doubt in his mind, as the present writer can testify. He had a rough idea as to how he would proceed. He even felt that he was perhaps on the brink. It was not given to him to conduct his experiment further to its successful issue. The object of this article is to bear witness that he regarded its success as a present possibility and to give an inkling of the technique with which he was working.

8·3·50

29

THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, WEDNESDAY, 1

Gandhi Ashram Branch Opened In Connaught Place

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

A branch of the Gandhi Ashram, to sell 'khadi' yarn and cloth, was opened yesterday in New Delhi's fashionable marketing centre —Connaught Place.

The Speaker of Parliament, Mr G. V. Mavlankar, performed the opening ceremony, while Acharya J. B. Kripalani, one of the pioneers of Mahatma Gandhi's *khadi* programme, gave a brief background history of *khadi* movement in an introductory speech.

Addressing the gathering, Mr Mavlankar explained that decentralization and development of village industries was the essence of Mahatma Gandhi's *khadi* programme. He said that *khadi* was the main plank of the economy of the new India which is yet to be built up.

According to Mahatma Gandhi, *khadi* was not only an economic measure for benefitting the poor and the neglected but it was a complete philosophy of life having its foundation on the twin principles of truth and non-violence.

Acharya Kripalani narrated the early history of *khadi* movement, and expressed his disappointment that their hopes did not fructify after independence of the country. The pioneer thought that after *swaraj*, the country would be full of *swadeshi* goods, but a walk round Connaught Place stalls proved the contrary.

Indeed, the enthusiasm for *khadi* had so much dwindled, he said, that the monthly sale of *khadi* had fallen from Rs 3,00,000 during the British régime to about Rs 1,00,000 at present. The Gandhi Ashram had unsold stocks worth about Rs 6,00,000 lying in its godowns.

Hindu 24-3.

26

GANDHI STATUE IN KARACHI

"MUST BE BROUGHT TO INDIA"

BOMBAY, March 23.

A suggestion that the Government of India should get back the statue of Mahatma Gandhi from the Pakistan Government and have it erected at the Kalyan refugee township has been made by Mr. Nanik G. Motwane, General Secretary of the Sind Hindu Seva Samiti, Bombay.

The statue, Mr. Motwane said in a statement here, was set up from contributions by the Sind Hindus. "After partition, all the statues of Hindu leaders in Karachi were damaged, such as the statues of Bal Gangadhar Tilak in front of the Khalikdina Hall, and of Seth Harchandrai Vishandas in front of the Municipal Office.

"It is also a matter of record that on August 14, 1947, our Mahatmaji's statue was made to wear a fez cap and a Pakistan flag was placed in the hands of the statue when Lord Mountbatten and the late Mr. Jinnah drove in state. On January 30, 1949—the first 'Shradh Day' of Mahatma Gandhi—the then Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan, Mr. Sri Prakasa, was not allowed even to garland the statue of Mahatma Gandhi.

"When no other statue has been blown away and not even a tree has fallen, it is difficult to believe how a strong bronze statue well set in concrete could be blown away."

Mr. Motwane said that "in the circumstances, I suggest that our India Government should get the statue back and have it erected at the Kalyan refugee camp where to-day the largest number of Sindhis are living and let the statue decorate the place where recently Mr. C. Rajagopalachari laid the foundation-stone of the new Kalyan refugee township".—PTI.

25

28.3.50

THE TIMES OF INDIA

SOME INDIAN BOOKS

The Gandhian Philosophy

SELECTED LETTERS (First Series) of M. K. Gandhi. Chosen and translated by V. G. Desai. (Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 7 as.)
GLEANINGS: GATHERED AT BAPUJI'S FEET. By Mira. (Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 6 as.)
FOR PACIFISTS. By M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. (Navjivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Re. 1-4.)
MAHATMA GANDHI AND BIHAR. SOME REMINISCENCES. By Rajendra Prasad. (Hind Kitab Ltd. Bombay, Rs. 2.)
GANDHI-GRANTHA. (Ramnarayan lal, Allahabad, Rs. 5.)
INDIA'S MARCH TO FREEDOM. By Prof. K. K. Datta (Orient Longmans, Bombay. Re. 1.)

THE authoritative edition of the writings and speeches of Mahatma Gandhi issued by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, provides a reliable collection of Gandhiana at very reasonable prices. Three booklets from this press head our list this week.

Gandhiji's philosophy has been a subject of interest to many. Mr. Desai's *Selected Letters* will help those trying to fit it into a system. With the exception of a few, the letters deal with philosophical and ethical problems. Taking the *Bhagavadgita* as the norm, Gandhiji has tried to state, in his usual simple and clear manner, his views. Letters addressed to Ashram sisters, to Ashram children, to workers, and miscellaneous letters have been presented by Mr. Desai in different groups. The muddy vesture that was known as Gandhi is no more; but his spirit, always ready to guide those who need guidance and seek for it, lives in these letters.

TEACHING

Gleanings is an apt title for a little book of material collected and treasured by Gandhiji's favourite disciple, Miraben. The book contains a few letters, short notes and some profound but revealing remarks made by the Mahatma during conversation. The editor tells us that these were submitted to Gandhiji for approval and received it. Miraben has added explanatory notes wherever necessary. Those interested in Gandhiji's teaching will welcome this book.

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In December 1949, it was proposed to hold a meeting of pacifists of which Gandhiji was to have been the guide. The Pates, however, willed it otherwise. Mr. Kumarappa has therefore, collected his articles on non-violence, arranged them, and presented them in *For Pacifists* in the hope that his spirit might inspire them, thus receiving a new lease of life in and through them.

At the outset Gandhiji admits that as a man of action, it is beyond his powers to reduce his philosophy of non-violence to a system. Gandhiji always leaves the problem of theorising to those who feel capable of doing it. We find that he is interested much more in the diverse phenomena of life governed by innumerable variables, than in the unifying principle underlying them. He is convinced that there is such a principle and that is enough for him. In his case faith transcends logic.

NON-VIOLENCE

The first twelve chapters contain his remarks regarding the nature of non-violence and the non-violent man. Non-violence requires discipline of a particular kind; it is the creed not of cowards but of courageous men. Chapters 13-26 deal with non-violence in conflict with violence. Gandhiji considers non-violence with reference to domestic as well as international problems. The remaining chapters, five in number, elucidate his views on government, aspects of justice, and the non-violent heritage of India.

To those interested in this doctrine, the book will prove a boon. The philosophy of the book is the philosophy of action; it would appear therefore, that action rather than academic discussion would be the best way of understanding it.

* * *

Gandhiji looked upon Babu Rajendra Prasad as one of his keymen. The collaboration which was to yield so magnificent a result, began in 1917 during a short visit to Bihar to champion the cause of the ryots of the indigo planters. The readiness with which this stranger from Gujerat courted imprisonment won the hearts of the people, who were *his* people thenceforth.

IN BIHAR

The author of *Mahatma Gandhi and Bihar* narrates how and in how many ways Gandhiji occupied himself with the problems with which Bihar was faced. Troubles seemed to melt away at his magic touch. Then again, he was intimately concerned with the growth of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee. Whether on the scene or away from it, he made his presence felt.

In some places the syntax requires attention, though in general the book is written in a simple and quiet manner. Throughout the book Dr. Prasad's manner is unhurried, calm and detached. Though he was closely connected with the Congress in Bihar, the author appears but rarely on the scene. He has thus succeeded in transforming the headlines of yesterday into history.

* * *

Some nine writers under the auspices of Banasthali Vidyapith Social Studies Association contributed their reminiscences, and impressions of Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of his birthday October 2, 1945, the result being *Gandhi-Grantha*. The essay 'Gandhi and Hindi Literature' by Sundhindra is a piece of real research, another, 'Gandhi and Plato' by Shri Rajeshwar, also deserves to be mentioned for its originality. Plato believed in the utility of the state for the perfection of man while Gandhiji considered the Government that governed the least as the best as he was an anarchist to a certain extent. Among others who have co-operated in bringing out this book are Dr. Radhakrishnan and Thaker Bapu.

RECENT HISTORY

In a clear and concise manner and in less than sixty pages, Prof. Datta records in *India's March to Freedom* the happenings, beginning with the Government of India Act, 1935, which conceded provincial autonomy and which was followed a couple of years later, by the formation of Congress or coalition ministries in the provinces under this Act and ending with the partition of India and the complete transfer of power and responsibility by the British Government to the peoples of India in 1947. In fact it goes a little beyond these twelve years and includes in the survey the solving of the problem of the Indian States and the questions affecting Hyderabad and Kashmir.

This is a useful record by a trained historian, objective in its treatment and unbiassed in its opinions. It is based mainly on documentary evidence and will provide useful data for future historians, who will naturally deal with this last phase of British rule in India in greater detail. But till this comes to be written, this modestly priced booklet will fill the gap and bring the histories published earlier up to date to the closing of an important era in India's long history.

24

The Bombay Chronicle

4-4-50

UNWORTHY QUIBBLING

Replying to the "Bombay Chronicle", Mr. K. G. Mashruwala, Editor of the "Harijan", justifies his describing India and Pakistan as one country in a leading article. His justification is based on a number of grounds. In the first place, he maintains that All-India is very meaningful now because there are two States and that even before partition it was in common use as in the name of the All-India National Congress. Secondly, he argues that many refer to India, both Pakistan and India, as a sub-continent; "if one is asked what is the name of this subcontinent, All-India is a correct description." Thirdly, "All-India constitutes one country and is the common fatherland of the people of both Pakistan and India, this is just a truism; no one ever called this into question before partition and even now every book on history and geography will have to treat the whole as one country and the people as belonging to one country". Fourthly, just as we say French India and Portuguese India, we can say Bharat India and Pakistan India; moreover, there were many States in India before Sardar Patel integrated them all. Fifthly, if the Cabinet Mission scheme had not been set aside, there should have been, even now politically an All-India Federation. And lastly, "States and the forms of their constitutions are created and uncreated by political exigencies and boundaries get shifted for political and administrative convenience; political arrangements must be distinguished from facts of nature and the natural fact is as stated" in his article.

This is the argument of Mr. Mashruwala and we regret to say that we are unable to follow him in any one of them. Whatever was the case before, India was partitioned on August 15, 1947 and two sovereign States were born out of the act. When Mr. Mashruwala is writing on political subjects, he cannot use "natural" terminology without creating confusion of thought. No country which has had to adjust to reduced territory, continues to speak of the old territory unless it has irredentist ambitions. We do not see why anyone should ask what the name of the sub-continent is, unless he desires to stir up old controversies. It is wrong to base an analogy on French and Portuguese Indias, because these territories have come into existence as a result of external forces whilst Pakistan grew from our own decisions. As for Mr. Mashruwala's insistence on the "if" of the Cabinet Mission Plan, it is a nostalgic harking back that has no relevance to present conditions. Mr. Mashruwala is not fair to himself. He writes, "Were it not for the fact that All-India is the common fatherland of the people living in both the subcountries, neither India and her people, nor Pakistan and her people would feel much concerned about the safety of the minorities in either of the two sub-countries". Only last week he asked the people of India to follow Pandit Jawaharlal because of his broad humanity and devotion to the cause of the downtrodden.

Mr. Mashruwala's outlook reveals his strong aversion to the partition. But nothing can be gained by refusing to recognize the fact of it and much confusion is caused by trying to defend the indefensible. We appeal to him to face the reality and leave aside all attempts to gloss it over.

Hindustan Times 9.4.50

With Mahatma Gandhi In Prison—I

(Continued from page 7, col. 3

of a hymn, Sarojini Devi began to laugh and said to Dr Nayyar: "These two, 74 years of age, are behaving like a newly married couple, and are deriving their joy out of it!"

Sarojini Devi, on her own part, derived her joy from mothering the youngsters—from Mr Kateli, the officer-in-charge of the prison, down to the prisoners and sentries. "Pyarelal reminds me of my son Baba, and you remind me of Lilamani, my own daughter," she said to Sushila. During the latter's illness, she had taken up much of Bapu's own work. At table she used to remove even the plates. If the diners wanted anything, it was she who would get up first and bring it. When a prison attendant got fever she said to Dr Nayyar: "Write out to me some tonic for him." On hearing that a sentry had become a father, she gave him a piece of silk cloth for the new-born baby. Once she got Mirabehn to sing to her some poems of Robert Burns.

Birthdays

Birthdays were celebrated with some *eclat* largely due to Sarojini Devi's presence. Bapu's own birthday was celebrated twice—both according to the English and the Indian calendars. Floral decorations, garlands, and a couple of *Upanishad-mantras* written on the step of the staircase, made a beautiful sight. Mirabehn and Pyarelal contrived to bring two little kids to make an obeisance to Bapu, with boards hanging at their necks on which were written the words *Saha nauvatu* (let us be protected together), and below it a sentence in Gujarati, meaning: "Long live the Elder Brother." (This suggested Bapu's kinship with the kids, because they were all living on the milk of the same mother-goat!) Ba too felt very happy that day. She had washed her hair on the day before, and today put on the forehead the *kum kum* mark with great joy and even flower in the hair. Fruits were distributed to the sentries, and the prisoner-attendants were fed at the expense of Bapu's companions.

Later, on the 7th, the birthday according to the Indian calendar, Bapu took only uncooked articles of food. The dining room was adorned with floral decorations; and there was a spinning competition in the afternoon.

On the eve of the Ramzan Id, Bapu declared his intention to take only dates and milk on the next day. But when she came to know of this, asked Bapu: Why are you going to reduce your diet tomorrow?" Bapu, who was silent, wrote: "Because of the Id." "Don't you remember," he wrote, "that I once kept the *rozah* in South Africa for the whole month? This time I have not kept even one *rozah*. I should therefore deny myself something at least on the *Id* day. I will take dates and milk which were the Prophet's favourite articles of food, and will give up bread and vegetables which are my favourite articles." In the evening Bapu saw the crescent moon first of all, and showed it to others. On the Id day Bapu took only uncooked food except boiled milk; and at the evening prayer Pyarelal read portions from the Quran, and Sarojini Devi read a poem of her own.

To be continued

NEED FOR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK STRESSED

SARVODAYA SAMMELAN DISCUSSIONS

ANGUL (Orissa), April 8.—The second day's session of the All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan began here yesterday with the meeting of the All-India Village Industries Conference under the presidentship of Mr J. C. Kumarappa.

Mr G. Ramachandran welcoming the delegates said that constructive work was becoming more difficult under the national Government. They were expecting that the constructive work would receive a fillip under the national Government, but on the contrary the scope of constructive work had become more difficult.

Mr Ramachandran added: "What will happen during the next five years will set the pattern for the next 50 years.

Be careful to take care of these five years. Let us work now in the new context of nation's."

Mr Kumarappa in his presidential address said they were supposed to imbibe the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi and the people expected that of them.

Kaka Kalelkar addressing a mass meeting after congregational prayers said that the poor would no longer tolerate exploitation. It was time they stopped social injustice.

Mr Dhirendra Mazumdar, President, All-India Spinners Association who could not attend due to illness in a message said that Gandhiji's mission in life was not merely achievement of independence of the country. His mission was to liberate humanity from age-old slavery through a revolution of political, economical and social life. The revolution was intended to transform the mode of life.

About 600 delegates from all over the country are attending the conference.

CHARKHA SANGH MEETS

The immediate task before the Charkha Sangh, namely, organizing Katheyi mandals in villages, was emphasized by Mr Mazumdar, in his address, which too was read out to the annual meeting of the Charkha Sangh held last morning. Kaka Kalelkar presided.

After giving the history of khadi movement, Mr Mazumdar said that a great responsibility had devolved on them for establishing a society devoid of exploitation.

Speaking about different aspects of khadi, Mr Mazumdar said that the All-India Spinners' Association would help public organizations in khadi production and sales. He pointed out that producing khadi in villages and selling it in cities might be financially advantageous to villagers, but that was not the correct way to stop the drain of wealth from the villages.

Continuing Mr Mazumdar said: "In order that we may bring about Gramraj or Ramraj, we should understand in no unmistakable terms the real ideals latent in khadi. The Charkha Sangh has entered on its new venture based on ideals of khadi. The Sangh is attempting to bring together selfless workers."

Mr Sri Krishandas Jaju suggested that only khadi which was produced on a living wage should be certified and that Charkha Sangh alone should have the authority to certify khadi. He also suggested that Government should undertake production of khadi only on living wage basis. He urged that Government should introduce spinning and weaving in schools.—P.T.I. & U.P.I.

Hindustan Times 9.4.50

With Mahatma Gandhi In Prison—I

KARAVAS KI KAHANI (Hindi) by Sushila Nayyar. Pp. 454. Price Rs. 10 published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi.

This day-to-day record of Gandhiji's 21 months' internment in the Aga Khan Palace at Yeravda (Poona) from August 9, 1942, to May 6, 1944, makes a most valuable addition to the growing volume of literature dealing with Gandhiji's life and work. The authoress—following in the foot-steps of her brother, Shri Pyarelal, Gandhiji's secretary since 1920—gravitated to Gandhiji, and acted as his medical attendant for a period of nine years—with a few short breaks till the very last days of his life. On August 9, 1942, she was arrested along with Kasturba Gandhi, and both were taken on the 11th to the Aga Khan Palace turned into a prison, with high barbed-wire fencing and 72 armed sentries keeping watch all around.

Gandhiji's prison 'household' then consisted of, besides himself and the two new-comers, Sarojini Devi, Mira Behn and Mahadev Desai. The isolation of the internees was complete, all contact with the outside world having been cut off. For the first three weeks no newspapers were given to Gandhiji, nor were any interviews or private correspondence allowed. For a long time Gandhiji had no knowledge about the whereabouts of his most valued colleagues including the members of the Working Committee.

"The Sword Of Damocles"

The atmosphere in this prison was as grim as it could be, though the daily routine went on with clock-work regularity. Bapu, as Shri Mahadev Desai said one of these days to Dr Nayyar, was like a volcano, and no one could say when he would erupt. Before imprisonment he had often talked of undertaking a fast as a supreme act of protest against the Government's policy. The idea had been kept in abeyance but not abandoned. Mahadev Desai was, therefore, on the thorns of anxiety which was gnawing at his heart. He prepared toast, vegetables, and a few other dishes at times, washed plates invariably, but all the while there was a weight on his heart which nothing could lift. Discussions about food had no interest for him. His brooding went on at all hours of the day and even disturbed his sleep. A voracious reader and an indefatigable writer as he was, he had taken no writing materials with him to the jail this time. He had burned the candle at both ends in spite of a number of breakdowns in the preceding months; and his companions thought he would get in prison the much-needed rest. "Had this sword of Damocles, in the shape of Bapu's impending fast, not been hanging on my head, I could have gained a few pounds in weight and also a little of strength," he remarked on the 13th. The same evening at prayer-time he sung a Marathi hymn by Tukaram opening with the words: "He is a devotee who is indifferent about the body." At another time, while spinning all alone, he was heard to be singing a Gujarati hymn which said: "My pulse, O God, is in thy hands; it is for Thee to take care of me. Only a few days now remain."

Premonition

Had he a premonition of the approaching end? Who can say? But as Bapu said after his death, "he had given up all attachment to life." On the 15th he got up soon after the morning prayer; kept fruit juices ready for Bapu; prepared toast and tea for himself and his companions; and beautifully arranged the things on the table. Then he not only had a shave but carefully trimmed the moustache and shaved the nails. Was he unconsciously preparing, asks the diarist, to "see my pilot face to face"? Was he preparing, like the maiden, "to take her latest leave of home."

"As plating with a long embrace
She enters other realms of love."

At night for the first time he had slept well in the jail. During the morning walk he narrated to Bapu how once, while Sardar Patel in his earlier life was playing 'bridge' with a friend, the latter died all of a sudden with the cards in his hands. The Sardar had since then come to have a loathing for cards. Did the story-teller have an inkline that the allotted span of his own life had run out?

The End

A little later Major Bhandari, the Inspector-General of Police, paid an official visit, and Sarojini Devi and Mahadevbhai talked with him while Bapu was having a massage in another room. Peals of laughter were heard during the conversation, and then there was an urgent call for Dr Nayyar. She hurriedly responded to the call, and Gandhiji followed a little later. Mahadev Desai was lying unconscious on a cot. Injections were of no avail. The end came so sudden as it was peaceful. A twitch of the muscles, a convulsion or two, a few shrieks, followed by slow heavy breathing, and from his limbs the spirit fled away.

The Government would not allow the body to be handed over to friends outside the prison, but wished to have the cremation done by a few officials and prisoners. Gandhiji, however, refused to hand over the body to strangers. After much delay the Government agreed to the cremation taking place in the adjacent field outside the fence. Bapu ignited the pyre of the son who had preceded him in death.

In a conversation reported in the diary Mahadev Desai had said: "My only prayer to God is to take me away before Bapu. And I must add that God has never rejected my prayer up till now; he has always granted it." Even this prayer of his was now granted. "Mahadev has died a yogi's and a patriot's death," said Bapu in a telegram sent to Sevagram. "Mahadev's death has been the purest of sacrifices," he said to Ba, "and it can result in nothing but good." "He had completed his mission in life. In fifty years' life he had achieved the work of a hundred years." "If in this age there has been anyone who has sacrificed his life for another, it was Mahadev," said Sarojini Devi. "Like Christ, he died in order that Bapu might live." Bapu, however, refused to give way to grief—though he once said later on that this wound could never be healed. Since the day after the death Bapu daily applied to his forehead a little of the ashes from the funeral pyre. *Darshan* from within the fence, of the spot of the funeral and recitation of the Gita at the spot, and offering of flowers became a daily routine. "This visit gives me much peace; I derive inspiration from Mahadev," "There is not a moment when I do not remember him. Rajaji has very rightly said that Mahadev was my spare body. Maganlal, Jamnalal and Mahadev were unique in their own respective spheres."

The Struggle

In the very first week of the internment Gandhiji wrote letters to the Governor of Bombay and the Viceroy, the replies to which were disappointing. Right from the start he had begun an intensive study of Urdu, Arabic, the Bible and the Quran. "It is God that inspires me to do whatever I am doing," he once said. "Otherwise a weak man that I am, what strength have I got to fight a force empire like this? Where else strength have the people of India who haven't got even a lathi?" "Don't you see I get out only as a free man? Either India wins her freedom, or I go to lie by Mahadev's side," he said to Mira Behn.

"I lose my temper," he added, "whenever I see any falsehood or faithlessness." This latter reference was to a speech of Churchill. "I should very much be happy," he once said, "if all of us remained here with Mahadev." The campaign of calumny which the Government had started against him in India and abroad hurt him very deeply. "It seems they have hatched a conspiracy to blacken me before the world. They won't stop short of untruth. Even the grounds, with the help of fraud, force, falsehood and flattery. But God, who is everpresent, knows the facts."

In a letter to the Home Member, Government of India, Gandhiji wrote on 21-9-42 that the Government, said not the Congress, was responsible for the destruction that had taken place. "We had made no preparations for the struggle," he said one evening, "but as *ahimsa* works in a mysterious manner, we have no reason to despair. We have no knowledge of what God has in store for us. Whatever it be, those who come out for a fight just now ought to be prepared to face death. There will not rest without achieving Swaraj. If they die in the course of the struggle, they will surely have won their own freedom."

Unadulterated Non-Violence

He was not prepared to call a halt to the struggle because of popular violence. He was daily growing in his faith in God and non-violence. "If I write to the Government," he said, "it is only for their information. I have given up arguing with them. There is no sting in my language which is charged with unadulterated non-violence. I see that, though there has been some violence outside, for the greater part the struggle is proceeding on non-violent lines. I have, therefore, made up my mind not to call off the struggle. This struggle is an outcome of my love for the British-ers. I should be failing in my duty towards them if I called off the struggle." He refused to think hypothetically what he would do if and when he got out. "We have a colossal task confronting us. We do not wish to go with the old world. We shall either go out into a Free India, or shall die here. That is our resolve, if God allows it to be fulfilled."

There again, "the present experiment is not one of non-violence of the strong but of non-violence of the weak. I have realized that it will not be able to teach the whole nation today the non-violence of the strong. If this non-violence of the weak produces some tangible result, a weak people will get a weapon of their own protection. It may some day lead to the non-violence of the strong. If non-violence of the weak is able to achieve some result, the power of the non-violence of the truly brave can be imagined."

The persistent hostile propaganda in which the Government indulged both here and in Britain were a source of constant torture to Ba's mind, particularly in her weak health. "Amery says Gandhi and Jinnah never talk to each other." Bapu once burst out, "but in fact Gandhi had gone to Jinnah's house. Mahadev has left a record of everything. I am going to publish the whole record before the world." Bapu tried to soothe her all the while. He was afraid lest he should have to lose Ba while they were in the prison.

Ba studied a good deal from Dr Sushila, and also from Bapu. Once while Bapu was teaching her the tune

Continued on page 10, col. 3

The New Order In Communist China

CHINESE Buddhist monks and nuns are discarding their flowing yellow and red robes for the dark-blue uniform of New China's labourers and farmers as the New Democracy philosophy of President Mao Tse-tung penetrates into the dim, dark interiors of temples and pagodas.

In Shanghai alone, hundreds of bonzes and priests are reported to have deserted their calling of prayer since the Liberation last May. The majority of these are said to have quit the incense-laden atmosphere of their temples for "new and more productive life." Some of them have returned to farming—their original occupation—and others enrolled either in the South Expedition Corps or the East China Military and Political Academy.

The remaining 1,500 monks and nuns of Shanghai's 500 old monasteries have, meanwhile, formed an Association of Buddhist Youths to carry out reforms in accordance with the requirements of the new era.

The announced aims of the new association are to unite all the progressive elements among the Buddhist clergy, male and female, for the study of the philosophy of New Democracy propounded by President Mao Tse-tung and to become useful members of society.

For the inaugural meeting of the organization more than 1,500 monks and nuns, still clad in their flowing robes and carrying slogan banners, marched through the main streets to the Assembly hall.

The unique spectacle of marching monks and nuns drew large crowds throughout the route, while at the meeting itself several monks and nuns discarding the reserve usually associated with their calling made spirited speeches, sang militant songs and took part in a Chinese classic gymnastic display.

In keeping with the principles of the new era, meanwhile, many of the city's large temples have been converted into productive centres or public eating places catering to the poorer classes.

The hum of machinery has replaced the monotonous drone of prayers in several of Shanghai's best known places of worship.

More than 10 temples are now small factories turning out hosiery, two are producing towels, two others have become the equivalent of truck farms, while over two dozen are operating as restaurants serving cheap quick lunches, and dinners.

These new eateries are said to be extremely popular, as they specialize in vegetarian delicacies which only long-trained Buddhist bonzes know how to prepare.

The Bubbling Well Temple, probably Shanghai's best patronized place of Buddhist worship in pre-liberation days, at present operates a "cultural service department" and a public reading room containing the latest periodicals and progressive books.

All the 40 students of the seminary formerly run by this temple are said to have dispersed to follow a more militant career—with the Southward Expeditionary Corps or the new Military and Political Academy.

At another well-known temple, monks are busy turning out towels with hand-operated machinery.

In bold characters at the entrance this slogan appears: "With the elimination of exploitation of men ever will we have come to realize that to labour is the natural duty of man." The new careers of Buddhist nuns include nursing, care of children, and sewing.

Commenting on the change that has occurred in China's temples, Shao Chuan, a monk in a large local temple, was quoted by the *China Weekly Review*—American-registered pro-Leftist publications—as saying: "Buddhism does not mean turning away from the people or creating a superman living in a non-existent world of escapism.

"The ultimate goal of the great Sakyamuni's untiring effort during his lifetime was the emancipation of the whole mankind."

Shao Chung added that it was his belief that further development of Buddhism can come only when past "erroneous practices" are thoroughly eliminated and all Buddhist monks engage in some kind of productive work."

Another monk, Ta Yuan, chairman of the new Buddhist association, asserted that "to ferry across all the living souls."—a famous saying in Buddhist philosophy—should be interpreted as actively serving the people with a view to bringing about a cosmopolitan world.

According to the *China Weekly Review*, he denounced the popular misconception that the sole purpose of Buddhism is to expiate the sins of the dead.

By and large, freedom of religious worship is still scrupulously respected throughout the country, although here and there churches and chapels are occasionally "borrowed" for use as lecture halls or meeting places.

79-FT MAHATMA MEMORIAL FOR MADRAS

MADRAS, Apr 12.—The Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Stupa Fund Committee has chosen the Marina bandstand site for the proposed 79-ft octagonal near the Triplicane seafront, as the stupa.

It was also decided that the memorial to be erected at a cost of Rs 5 lakhs raised by public subscription, should consist of a tower on the west and an open balcony on the east and an amphitheatre in front of the balcony. The balcony portion of the memorial is to be designed as a common prayer hall, open to all religions.

The Madras Government will be in charge of the maintenance of the memorial.—PTI.

Gandhi Memorial In Washington

Plans Being Actively Taken Up

WASHINGTON, April 24.—Plans for constructing the Mahatma Gandhi memorial in Washington are being actively taken up.

Representatives of the Memorial Foundation were to meet the Fine Arts Commission of Washington, in whose hands lies the final decision regarding the site.

The Commission has offered what is considered an attractive site adjoining the present property of the Indian Embassy. The site, consisting of an area of three acres, is partly U.S. Government property and partly privately owned. The privately owned part of the land will have to be purchased by the Foundation.

The proposed site is said to have many advantages.

Points in its favour are: As it adjoins the property of the Government of India, arrangements could be made for an easy access from the Indian Embassy grounds to the memorial.

It has a central location, easily accessible by street transport. The memorial building, perched on an elevation of 300 feet and overlooking a well-wooded valley would look very impressive. The natural grading of the site would lend itself wonderfully for a lay-out of terrace gardens and an amphitheatre for open air meetings.

Mr. J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, who inspected the site, said: "Because of the valley and the parkways on three sides of the site, there is hardly any danger of commercial buildings going up in the vicinity. The memorial would be surrounded by attractive landscape and with no other buildings to distract attention from it; it would stand out like a jewel amidst the ever-green scenery."

Structural and landscape architects have been asked to submit advance plans as to the artistic treatment that could be given to the site, if finally selected.

When their recommendations had been received, a decision on the site would be taken.

The financial drive for raising $10 million Foundation fund will be taken in hand as soon as a site has been selected.—P.T.I.

Hindustan Times 30-4-50

With Mahatma Gandhi In Prison—IV

QUESTION ON NONVIOLENCE

In reply to a question from Mirabehn about socialism, Gandhiji said: "One cannot afford to, nor should one, remain indifferent about this problem. I find it to be very interesting. I have read the history of China and Russia. There is no doubt that their activities aim at doing good to the people, but they are based on violence. They cannot eschew violence; and violence cannot lead to lasting results. I am, therefore, afraid that their experiment will ultimately end in failure. Hitherto violence was a weapon of the people at the top; now it is being resorted to by the masses. No one can predict its consequences." "Leaving aside the question of non-violence, there seems to be little difference between your teaching and that of the socialists," said Mirabehn. "Why, there is the difference regarding the use of machinery," said Gandhiji. "That, however, is not so bad and can be easily eliminated. Don't you think so?" asked Mirabehn. "No," replied Gandhiji, "my feeling is quite the contrary. The widespread use of machines and large-scale industrialization are at the root of violence, and it is not easy to eliminate these. Its elimination is perhaps even more difficult than that of violence." "My non-violence is limited to human beings," he said on another occasion. Though I would not advise a wholesale destruction of wild animals, it would be open to the residents of a locality to kill a tiger, for instance, which attacks them, and I would not prevent them from training themselves for this purpose. I would only say that the animal should be killed without any avoidable torture or harassment." Answering a question from the diarist, regarding the hostile propaganda against the Congress, Gandhiji said: "Even now the propaganda has not made any impression on the people. I have no despair or despondency in me; for I am sure that this struggle cannot result in evil, because my own mind is free from the slightest trace of untruth or violence. The situation would be different if I detect any untruth or violence in myself; I would myself shudder in that case." "The most essential thing in non-violence," he added on another occasion, "is right thinking. Right thinking does not merely consist of right planning; it is the correct understanding of the fundamentals. For instance, the belief in the existence of God is right thinking, while disbelief in His existence is the reverse of it. 'Honesty under all circumstances,' is right thinking; 'dishonesty at times,' is the reverse of it. When right thinking becomes habitual, it is automatically followed by right action. Where one acts rightly by the force of circumstances, but there is no right thinking underlying the action, the right action will not yield the same result, and the fruit of the right deed will not accrue to the doer of it. Without right thinking there can be no living faith in non-violence. And one who is not in the habit of right thinking will not be able to act rightly at a crucial moment."

Birthdays

On October 22, 1943, which was Dr Gilder's 62nd birthday, his companions gave him a variety of little presents. A prisoner made a fine little earthen goat, Dr Nayyar painted a picture of a goat; and Mirabehn wrote a poem on goats, referring to Dr Gilder's complaint that the goats by their bleating allowed him to have no sleep in the daytime. These packets were presented to Dr Gilder—the goat, the poem and the painting, a table-cloth from Dr Nayyar, cigars, and chocolates. Bapu made for him a garland of 62 threads of self-spun yarn; and the others garlanded him with flowers.

Mirabehn's birthday fell each year on November 7, the day on which she came to Bapu. This year it was her 19th birthday, on which Sushila gave her a fine *sari*, a towel and *gud*; and a few earthen toys—a cow, two bullocks, a calf, a goat, and two partridges—made by a prisoner-attendant. A little illumination was done on Diwali day; and a few days later Ba celebrated the marriage of the *tulsi* plant. A *mandap* was erected on the plant with sugarcane; and Ba put flower garlands on the plant, presented fruit before it, and worshipped it in the usual manner. The *prasad*—coconuts, sugar, pomegranates and sugarcane—was distributed among the prisoners and sentries.

Ba's Failing Health

These occasions of mirth and innocent fun were, however, few and far between. Or, in the words of a literary critic, every occasion of this kind was "one of the comic interludes which are woven into every tragedy." A consciousness of an impending tragedy was ever present with the inmates of this prison. For Ba's health had been failing since March that year and was causing considerable anxiety to Gandhiji as also to the two doctors among the company. Once in early December Ba felt as if she was passing away during a heart attack. With increasing weakness she often grew fidgety. The monotony and the loneliness of the prison life were preying on her mind. "The chief aggravating cause of her illness was confinement," says Dr Nayyar. "Ba had been to jail several times in the past, but this time the detention was for an indefinite period and it oppressed her. Moreover, on previous occasions she had been in jails where were large numbers of woman prisoners, political and non-political. Life therefore was less monotonous. Periodical interviews with friends and relatives, and release of old and admission of new prisoners, introduced some variety and change in the day-to-day life." This correspondence was, at a time, there were no interviews and however, Ba began to exchange letters with her children and grandchildren, in spite of the restrictions under which Bapu would not exercise the right of writing or receiving letters. "I shall stay by Mahadev's side," Ba would remark every now and then.

To the agreeable surprise of her companions her interest in life revived for a time through games. She would sit in her chair on the verandah and watch others playing badminton on the court below. Slowly she began to play carrom. "She became so interested in it," says the diarist, "that she would practise for nearly half an hour every afternoon. Mirabehn was the best carrom player. Ba was practically always her partner. So she always won and was very pleased about it." It bespoke her childlike nature that "if sometimes they accidentally lost, she became upset and it even spoilt her sleep. Finally the players decided among themselves that whatever happened, Ba should be made to win the last game."

"Unbecoming For Govt."

From December 1943 her condition grew worse, and a little later she took to bed. Some of the relatives would then come occasionally to see her, and these interviews cheered her up for the time being. But she was "gradually losing ground." The irksome restrictions placed by the Government on the interviews with relatives, on the medical attendants and the nurses from outside, formed the subject of several letters from Gandhiji to the Government during January and February. He once felt constrained to remark in one of his letters: "It is unbecoming for the Government to impose such conditions on a dying woman.... I would far rather the Government sent me away to another prison, instead of worrying me with pin-pricks at every step." An official in Delhi had explained to Shri Devadas Gandhi why the Government did not release Ba. "Supposing we release her," he had said, "and her condition became serious after release? There will be a demand for the release of your father. And if we do not release him, we shall be called heartless brutes."

"Be Near Me"

Ba perhaps would not have liked to be released without Bapu whom she had "followed like a shadow." She would perhaps have said to him:

> "Be near me when my light is low,
> When the blood creeps, and the nerves prick
> And tingle; and the heart is sick,
> And all the wheels of Being slow.
> Be near me when I fade away."

And he was near her as long as he possibly could be. "On some fond breast the parting soul relies." On February 19 she leaned against his shoulders, and this soothed her a little. He sat on her bed throughout the day. His proximity gave her a strange peace of mind." He said to Drs Gilder and Sushila Nayyar, "Please stop all medicine now. *Ramnam* is the sovereign remedy. Today she herself is disinclined to take medicines. She has no peace without *Ramnam*. I have heard nothing but *Ramnam* come from her lips since this morning. It is a most touching scene, but I love it. If God wills it, He will pull her through; else I would be free like leaving her. He loved to wash the little handkerchiefs used to wipe away sputum from her lips. "Let me do it," he said to Sushila who offered to wash them. "I like doing it."

The End

Earlier in the day on the 22nd she felt somewhat cheerful on being told that two of her sons—Devadas and Ramdas—were coming to see her, but in a moment she said to Dr Gilder who brought her this news: "You are all my children, aren't you? If I die, you will cremate me." In spite of the difficulty in swallowing since the previous night, she opened her mouth to take in a spoonful of *Gangajal* which Bapu poured into it; a drink of *ghi* also gave her great peace of mind. A little later she said to Bapu: "Do not sorrow after my death. It should be an occasion for rejoicing." Then, closing her eyes and folding her hands, she prayed: "O Lord! I have filled my belly like an animal. Forgive me. I pray for Thy grace. I want to be Thy devotee and love you with all my heart. I want nothing else." At 7-15 in the evening, just when Bapu was preparing to go out from his room for a walk, she called out: "Bapuji." She was very restless when he went in and took his seat by her side. Describing the scene the diarist says:

> "Twice she sat up and again lay down. Bapu asked her: 'What is the matter? What do you feel?' Like an innocent child standing on the brink of the unknown, she replied in a quivering way: 'I do not know.' Just then Ba's brother came up. She recognized him. Tears rushed to her eyes, but she could not speak. She tried to sit up for the last time but Bapu dissuaded her. 'Why not keep lying down?' he said. She put her head on his lap and lay back. The eyes began to lose their lustre. There were a few hiccups and gurgling sounds from the throat. She opened her mouth, three or four gasps, and all was still. She was at last free from all bondage."

As the Government were not prepared to allow a public funeral, her body was cremated next day very near to Shri Mahadev Desai's *samadhi*. Gandhiji remained on the cremation ground till late in the afternoon. Several times it was suggested that he should go and rest, but he refused to do so. "How can I leave her like this after sixty-two years of companionship?" I am sure she wouldn't forgive me for that," he replied. In the evening he remarked: "I cannot imagine life without Ba. I had always wished her to go in my hands so that I won't have to worry as to what will become of her when I am no more. But she was an indispensible part of me. Her passing away has left a vacuum which never will be filled."

The diarist has given several little touching incidents and remarks which reveal once again "the human-hearted man" that Gandhiji was. Four days later he said: "My mind refuses to think of anything but Ba." During the best part of their 62 years of married life they had been, with a few short breaks, constantly together. Even during their childhood, before the marriage, they had played together. He still felt her "warm presence." The small table, on which she used to rest her arms and head and go to sleep, was, after her death, brought to Gandhiji under his instructions, and he decided that it would serve as his table during mealtimes. He asked a little piece of cloth to be wrapped round his water-bottle because it was often used for Ba during her illness. "Her death was glorious, and I rejoice at it. The grief is due to my own selfishness. The separation from her after a companionship of 62 years is very hard to put up with. Howsoever I may try, I am unable to put away her memories from my mind."

Freedom And Non-violence

Once during a talk about how Bapu acquired hold over the masses in India he said: "I expressed in words the thoughts which people entertained but could not speak out. They therefore got mad after me. Again, I spoke in the language of the people which they could understand, and never in English. The vogue then was to speak in a language unintelligible to the people. I reversed the process. As a result, the people crashed the gates as I was entering the court in Bihar. The whole of Bihar got mad after me."

"Quit India" Campaign

Referring to the 'Quit India' campaign, Gandhiji once said to Mirabehn: "The Britishers should know how they have exploited India. India is being bled white. Every foreign soldier is a burden on her. How is she to feed them? Don't you tell me that all the expenses are made in India. It is the blood of India that is spent, is it not? What is the value of the paper currency which is now used in India? The military people bring a bundle of notes and take away vegetables, milk, ghee, fruit, or whatever they like. Nothing is left for the poor Indians; they get no milk for their children; and they undergo all these hardships for the benefit of an alien government.... This is creating in the people bitterness against the British Government. Something must be done to stem the tide of this bitterness. If the British Government ask us to hold ourselves in patience, our answer must be: 'No.' The present is just the opportune moment for making India free. It is just now that this bitterness can be converted into friendship. I know they will say they are satisfied with what is going on at present, for they are able to get from India whatever they want. When I talked of the doings of Clive and Hastings to Mr Baldwin, he said: 'I am proud of whatever we have done in India.' They can even now say the same thing, whereupon my reply will be the same as I gave to Mr Baldwin: 'In that case I have nothing more to tell you.' The 'Quit India' movement has brought to the surface the anger against the Britishers which was latent in the hearts of the people. The Congress resolution was a straight and innocuous way to remove the anger; it was an effort to persuade Britain to do something so that this anger may be replaced by a feeling of friendship and gratefulness. My complaint, however, is that they did not even try to understand the viewpoint of the Congress. The very fact that they are so much incensed at the very mention of 'Quit India' shows that their intention is not pure, and that they do not wish to stop the exploitation of India. Otherwise they would have given thought to the appeals of Maulana Saheb and Jawaharlal and to my speech at the A-I-C-C. The Congress wishes the Allies to win the war; and it was in order to ensure their victory that the Congress asked for justice to be done to India. If they had viewed this resolution in the right perspective, the rest would have been plain sailing. This is possible if even now they come to take a correct view in respect of the Congress attitude."

The Release

In April Gandhiji had an attack of malaria, and he developed such alarming symptoms that, acting on doctors' advice, the Government released him and his companions unconditionally on May 6, 1944. Thus the mosquito, which is credited by some historians with having brought about the downfall of the Roman Empire, was instrumental in the release of Gandhiji from the Aga Khan Palace prison. "I am at a loss to know what I shall say and do; but He who has hitherto guided me will even now lead me on. I must, however, admit that I have never been encircled by such impenetrable gloom as I see around me just now."

Dr Sushila Nayyar richly deserves our thanks for having kept this daily diary of the life of the revered Leader behind the prison bars. It has had the benefits of a revision at Gandhiji's hands, and thus bears the imprimatur of authenticity. The sole motive has been to give the narration of facts in the plainest language possible. Its very artlessness—as Galsworthy said of Dickens—contributes to its beauty as a piece of literature. Many of the scenes are unforgettable and haunt one's memory long after one has read them. It is the complete absence of artificiality that has enabled the authoress to make such an interesting day-to-day record of

"The Death in Life, the days are, no more."

KARAVAS KI KAHANI (Hindi): By Sushila Nayyar. Pp. 456; Price Rs 10. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. The first three articles appeared on April 9, 16 and 23.

Hindustan Times 30-4-50 19

MORE GANDHI LITERATURE

of Western pacifists who attempt to keep war at bay because of its evils and perils to civilization. Shri Bharatan Kumarappa collected Gandhiji's writings and speeches on non-violence, especially those bearing on pacifism, in a volume which he rightly entitled *For Pacifists* on the eve of the Pacifists' historical rally at Santiniketan. While the booklet served its purpose of giving in a nutshell Gandhiji's ideas on truth and non-violence and pacifism, it has a prominent place in Gandhi literature. The editor has divided the matter under indicative chapter headings. The booklet gives a comprehensive idea as to how a truly non-violent man must crusade against all forms of oppression and root out violence from his mind and soul and thus, as the nation is individual writ large, sow the seeds of peace that is indeed lasting.

Another brochure specially prepared for the World Meeting of Pacifists—*Satyagraha' In Action*:—came from the familiar pen of Shri R. R. Diwakar, the author of *Satyagraha: Its History and Technique*, a celebrated exhaustive work on the subject that was intimately connected with the leadership and personality of Mahatma Gandhi. The technique of non-violent resistance discovered by Gandhiji in South Africa was applied and developed by him in India as the fitting response to particular political circumstances obtaining at different crises of freedom movement. In this matter Gandhiji acted like a master-artist who expresses some basic ideas in a variety of forms." The author has summarized the stories of half a dozen satyagraha campaigns of all-India magnitude which were personally led or guided by Gandhiji.

In the process of launching these struggles, Gandhiji discovered the leaders who became his life-long associates: Rajendra Prasad at Champaran and Vallabhbhai Patel at Kheda, who, later, led the Satyagraha campaign of Bardoli peasantry. The deep faith that moved Gandhiji was stated by him in 1917: "If I could popularize the use of soul-force, in place of brute-force, I know that I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst." That mission was partly fulfilled in his life when he saw India freed from alien rule. These various Satyagraha stories in outline have a special importance to those who study the technique of non-violent resistance in the interest of enduring world peace. The frontispiece of this excellently printed book by Nandlal Bose, world-famous Santiniketan artist, epitomises the heroic struggle of Satyagrahis.

In his *Autobiography* Gandhiji characterized the Satyagraha in Champaran (1917) as "a bold experiment with Truth and Ahimsa" and recommended Rajendra Prasad's history of it which he had written in Hindi in 1913 for a detailed study. The book was translated in English and published in 1928. It is well known that the later phases of Satyagraha conducted by Gandhiji on an India-wide scale were but the enlarged editions of the struggle which freed the oppressed indigo-planters of Champaran from the tyranny of alien planters. That is the standing importance of this struggle in India's freedom movement. Navajivan Publishers are to be congratulated for having reprinted the volume under the title *Satyagraha in Champaran* after the author, then President of the Constituent Assembly, could find time to revise it and also add a Foreword.

His record of anecdotes and incidents of Gandhiji's life in *Mahatma Gandhi & Bihar* brought up to date, is an important contribution to literature on Gandhiji. Here, in the first fifteen chapters, the reader gets a differently-worded story of Champaran Satyagraha and relief work in Bihar. The other chapters narrate the story of the social and political movements launched by Gandhiji. The volume is subtitled "Some Reminiscences." Dr Rajendra Prasad in his reminiscent mood makes the diaries all the more readable and charming. The last phase of Gandhiji's heroic mission in Bihar has also been covered.

Throughout his long life Mahatma Gandhi wrote and spoke and organized activities and movements to foster and bring about communal concord. During Khilafat Movement he seemed to have almost achieved his goal but disillusionment soon overtook him and the country. Events unhappily led to the Partition and the communal tragedy on a vast scale that followed rent Mahatmaji's heart. But he brought sanity to the people of Bihar and Bengal and Delhi. What Mahatma ji wrote and spoke on communal unity in this crucial period and earlier will go down in history. It is, therefore, well that Bharattan Kumarappa has edited speeches and writings of Mahatmaji on communal harmony in the volume entitled *Communal Unity*. Gandhiji's writings and speeches at prayer gatherings and on other occasions have been mostly compiled in relation to historical events. Rajendra Prasad, the author of *Divided India*, has much to say on the subject; his Foreword, pithy and thoughtful, condenses the lifelong campaign for the Hindu-Muslim unity fought by Gandhiji. He concludes it with these noble and inspiring words: "He (Gandhiji) bore witness to the truth that was in him by smilingly laying down his life for it. No man can do more. Let us hope that what he was not able to achieve by his words and acts while he walked on this earth will be achieved by his immortal spirit that lives and works unseen." The volume is a significant contribution to "Gandhiana" for it records the burning faith of Gandhiji that "alone can ensure peace, happiness and prosperity of all the inhabitants of this land." An elaborate index guides the reader to the topics classified in the 500 and odd pages. Non-English words occurring in the volume have been explained in a prefatory note.

Gandhiji's death at the hands of an assassin on January 30, 1948, stirred the world to its depths. Great tributes were paid by leaders of nations. *Humanity's Homage To Gandhiji* includes tributes by Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Mr Attlee and President Truman. The very titles of the selected articles throw light on the different facets of the great and complex personality of Gandhiji: Kinglist of Kings (Mrs Sarojini Naidu), Prophet of Mankind (Dr Soedarsono), Saint and Politician (Guy Wint), Emperor, Apostle and Yogi (K. M. Munshi), Greatest Man of the Age (Sachchidananda Sinha), Moral Teacher of Mankind (Manu Subedar). Articles by Pandit Nehru and Shri Devadas Gandhi are of poignant interest.

Another similar compilation entitled *Mahatma Gandhi And The U.S.A.* was made by Dr Pasupaleti Gopala Krishnayya, a well-known oriental speaker on the platform and over the radio in the U.S.A. From the messages in this volume the reader gathers how Gandhiji was universally known and admired in the U.S.A. Dr Krishnayya received letters mourning the loss of Gandhiji from many Governors of the States which he has published in extracts. Dr Henry Grady, the first U.S. Ambassador to India, has written that "a great human spirit lives on though his body has returned to the dust." General George C. Marshall called Gandhiji "the spokesman for conscience of all mankind." Dr John Haynes Holmes who followed Gandhiji's career keenly for thirty years and met him a few weeks before his assassination, remarked in the course of his article that the secret of Mahatma Gandhi's power was the spirit. Dr Holmes concluded the contribution with the apt words of warning: "It is the atom bomb or Gandhi—choose ye this day which ye will serve."

As a child Gandhiji was taught to revere Rama, the name of God, which consoled and steadied him in all the crises of his intensely busy and varied life and which sacred name was heard last on his lips in the moments of his martyrdom. The Rama of his prayers was "not the historical Rama, the son of Dasaratha—the King of Ayodhya," but "the eternal, the unborn, the one without a second." In all spheres of his private and public life, he proclaimed Ramarajya. As pointed out in the Foreword to *Ramanama* by the Editor, Shri Bharatan Kumarappa, Mahatmaji advocated Ramanama as an efficacious remedy in curing diseases in the Nature Cure Clinic at Uruli Kanchan. "The central feature of Nature Cure treatment is Ramanama. But it must come from the heart, if it is to be a remedy for all one's ailments." Gandhiji's ideas on Ramanama have been neatly classified in 31 chapters so that there is no confusion regarding his views. An enlightening brochure indeed.

Mr Valji Govindji Desai has chosen and translated some of Mahatma Gandhi's letters in Gujerati which were later revised by Gandhiji. A careful study of *Selected Letters* makes one feel that one is listening to Mahatma Gandhi in person. Among these epistles, one may collect the gems of thought penned by the Master to Ashram sisters and children such as: "Prayer should be a bath of purification for the spirit of man;" "If the body serves but the mind is absent, our service can bear no fruit at all." We may well remember what Gandhiji wrote to an Ashramite: "Continue to do your duty as if nothing had happened and thus falsify the news of my passing away. I depend upon you." This little collection provides instructive reading.

From her "treasure-hoard of Bapu's letters" Mira (Mary Behn) has published some in a small booklet entitled *Gleanings*. Her explanatory notes help to clear the context of Gandhiji's letters to Romain Rolland, Dalai Lama and an invalid worker of Britain. Scraps from her Note Book, recorded when she and Bapu were incarcerated in Aga Khan's Palace, were published after Gandhiji approved these as "correct." From this little volume the reader gleans Gandhiji's "simple and direct words of truth" such as: "Non-violence does not seize power. It does not even seek power—power accrues to it"; The secret of Satyagraha lies in not tempting the wrong-doer to do wrong." What Bapu wrote in a silence-day note regarding Segaon villagers may well be borne in mind to apply to the millions of India: "We have to teach these people; *the way to teach is to help.*"

Dozens of compilations of Gandhiji's thoughts have been issued by Indian and foreign publishers during and after his lifetime. Two of these, *Mahamvala* and *The Wisdom Of Gandhi* are quite handy, and valuable too. The former is subtitled "A Gandhian Rosary"; a thought for each day of the year has been assiduously gleaned from his writings and speeches by Shri R. K. Prabhu.

Among other things, Mahatma Gandhi was an educationist. As author of the Wardha Scheme, he rightly insisted that every student must learn one craft or the other while at school. By his personal magnetism and his solicitude for the welfare of the student community, he drew the students all over the country to him. In spite of his heavy preoccupations, he would find time to reply their questions through *Young India*, and later, *Harijan*. Every time Gandhiji would make the students increasingly conscious of their social obligations—the more pressing in a poor country like ours—which they could discharge better if they learnt the art of rigorous self-control. Shri Nirmalkumar Bose has collected articles and writings and speeches of Gandhiji in this behalf in the volume entitled *To The Students*, for the lasting benefit of all students in this country and elsewhere.

DONATIONS TO GANDHI MEMORIAL FUND

Seth R. Dalmia's Rejoinder

From Our Staff Correspondent

NEW DELHI, May 24: Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia released today for publication letters exchanged between him and Sardar Patel recently in regard to contributions to the Gandhi Memorial Fund.

On May 21 Seth Dalmia wrote the following letter to the Deputy Prime Minister.

"New Delhi, May 21; Dear Sardarji:—I am grateful to you for your letter dated the 4th instant. I have already issued a press statement which by now you must have seen, and a copy of which I am attaching herewith for your reference. I had absolutely no desire to enlarge the controversy further, but it appears the matter is being stretched unnecessarily. Not to mention the attack made by the *Hindustan Times* earlier, I particularly refer you to the comments appearing in the *Bharat* and the *New Bharat*, Bombay—two papers being managed by your son, Shri Dahyabhai, and financed by many prominent merchants. In my armoury there are weapons sharp enough effectively to reply to the same but I feel it humiliating to do so, and treat the same with all the contempt it deserves.

Yourself, having been the chief instrument of the collections of the Gandhi Memorial Fund, I can appreciate your anxiety to safeguard its reputation. You know men like Dr. Rajendra Prasad and other leaders, whose integrity, honesty and respect till today is second to none, could not evoke an appreciable response from the public and merchants in respect of the Fund. Those who sing the song of spontaneous offerings in the memory of Gandhiji did not come forward to donate and which, in fact, necessitated the calling of a meeting at Mussoorie.

I remember that the Government conferred powers by an ordinance on the companies empowering the directors and the managing agents

(*Continued on page 5*)

SETH R. DALMIA'S PLEA FOR TOLERANCE

Letter To Deputy Prime Minister

(*Continued from page 1*)

to donate to the Gandhi Memorial Fund even if there was no provision in the articles of association of a company. If the sole desire was to associate with the Fund to perpetuate the memory of Gandhiji, why some of these gentlemen did not pay from their purse, in spite of being capable of paying easily many folds more, but persuaded the Government to empower them to pay them out of the poor shareholders money?

Besides the contributions by the business community substantial amounts were donated by persons under pressure, occasionally worse than the old war fund collections. If you are indeed enamoured about the purity of the funds, I will suggest that you appoint a committee of inquiry to go into this matter, and I assure you that the findings will be astounding.

By the exemption of income-tax the public exchequer has practically contributed about Rs. 2-1/2 crores out of the Rs. 5 crores donated by the companies. Instead of paying indirectly from the public revenue, it would have been certainly better to enact legislation for the contribution of Rs. ten crores or Rs. 20 crores out of the Government funds. Although when I issued my first statement I never thought that it would touch to the quick, but on further consideration I feel that a leader of your status, instead of dragging me, should have appreciated the real position and ought not to have invoked your wrath so eloquently expressed in your letter, piling on me so many defamatory and libellous imputations.

I have been advised by a large number of well-wishers to seal my lips. I have been asked with all the earnestness that if I wish well of myself, my family and business commitments, I should refrain from serving the cause of the country. My conscience however, impels me to pay my debt to the country even if I be crushed, which surely I will regard as a victory and personal satisfaction. How can there be a quarrel between a ruler and the ruled?

There is a popular belief among the public that you cannot tolerate any opposition whatever, but my humble request is that in this small span of life you should change this idea and let the public acclaim that now Sardarji appreciates those who differ from him, himself exercising the virtue of toleration which he has recently advocated in South India.

You find yourself perplexed as to how industrialists could go so low as to use the shareholders' money for their own personal benefit. Perhaps you are aware that in war times, and in some cases even now, many industrialists except some prominent concerns like Tatas, have made an abnormal amount of money, depriving the shareholders of its benefit. If this can be done, no wonder if the shareholders' money is donated for the gaining of the sympathies of the authorities.

THREATENING LETTERS

As a sequel to the publication of your letter, I am receiving threatening letters and communications from disgruntled old employees and associates that unless I paid them some consideration in one form or other, they would send "all my papers to Sardar Patel" or publish them or kill me or my children or make injuries on themselves and blame me for the same. I am mentioning this only to bring home to you how the public mind reacts to utterances like yours.

As you say, I have acquired a habit to make confession of my failings, but I hope you will appreciate that relatively it is not worse than the habit of maligning others. You suggested to me to approach the Investigation Commission to clear my chest. Perhaps you will be comforted to know that I did that long before you made the suggestion.

Under the law, possibly you cannot return the money once accepted as a donation, but I would certainly request you to use your influence with the trustees of the Fund to donate a substantial sum out of the same to the cause of the refugees, and in the words of Gandhiji "even the money so earned from a tainted source would become pure if given to a worthy cause", and the blessings of starving masses will give you eternal peace.

Yours sincerely,
Sd. R. Dalmia.

MAHATMA'S STATUE FOUND BROKEN

Aurangabad Incident

AURANGABAD, May 24: The head of Mahatma Gandhi's statue at Aurangabad was found broken this morning.

To commemorate the second anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi the merchant community of Aurangabad decided to erect a statue of Gandhiji in Shahaganj, and work in this connection had already started.

In accordance with the wishes of the citizens a miniature statue was erected before the life-size statue which was found damaged today.—U.P.I.

Poems On Mahatma

RAJKOT, May 24: A volume containing verses on Mahatma Gandhi is to be compiled under the direction of Mr. Narandas Gandhi Chairman of the Saurashtra Constructive Workers' Committee.

Representatives will be sent out to Gujerat, Cutch and throughout Saurashtra to collect material and contact poets and bards for the purpose.—P.T.I.

Nation 25-5-50

DALMIA-PATEL BOUT

Sardar Funks Out

An interesting controversy has been raging between Dalmia, a Big of India's Big Business and Sardar Patel, the recognised patron of Indian capital, over the former's confession that motives hundred per cent un-Gandhian had inspired him to contribute to the Gandhi Memorial Fund. As will be evident from the correspondence below, Sardarji has funked out after the first round. The public will, however, insist on having a Committee on the lines of Dalmia to go into the motives behind apparently pious and pure donations to to a cause, noble to all.

The following is the full text of the letter adressed by Seth Dalmia to Sardar Patel:

NEW DELHI
1-5-50

Dear Sardarji,

I am grateful to you for your letter dated the 4th April. I have already issued a Press statement which by now you must have seen and a copy of which I am attaching herewith for your reference. Had absolutely no desire to enlarge the controversy further, but it appears the matter is being stretched unnecessarily. Not to mention the attack made by "Hindustan Times" earlier, I particularly refer you to the comments appearing in 'Bharat' and 'Nav Bharat' Bombay two papers being managed by your son Mr. Dahya Bhai and financed by many prominent merchants. In my armoury there are weapons sharp enough to effectively reply to the same, but I feel it humiliating to do so, and treat the same with all the contempt it deserves.

Yourself having been the chief instrument of the collections of the Gandhi memorial fund, I can appreciate your anxiety to safeguard its reputation. You know men like Dr. Rajendra Prasad and other leaders whose integrity, honesty and respect till today is second to none could not evoke an appreciable response from the public and merchants

(Continued On Last Page)

DALMIA-PATEL BOUT

(Continued From Page 1)

in respect of these funds. Those who sing song of spontanous offerings in memory of Gandhiji din not come forward to donate and which in fact necessitated the calling of a meeting at mussoorie.

I remember that the Government conferred powers by ordiance on the companies empowering the directors and the Managing Agents to donate to the Gandhi Memorial Fund even if there was no provision in the Articles of Association of the company. If the sole desire was to associate with the fund to perpetuate the memory of Gandhiji, why some of these gentlemen did not pay from their purse, inspite of being capable of paying easily many folds more, but persuaded the government to empower them to pay them out of the poor shareholders money.

Besides the contributions by the business community, substantial amounts were donated by persons under pressure, occasionally worse than the old War-Fund collections. If you are indeed enamoured about the purity of the funds, I will suggest that you appoint a Committee of enquiry to go into this matter, and I assure you that the findings will be astounding.

By the exemption of income tax, practically the public exchequer has contributed about four crores out of the five crores donated by the companies. Instead of paying indirectly from the public revenue, it would have been certainly better to enact a legislation for the contribution of ten or twenty crores out of the government funds. Although when I issued my first statement I never thought that it would touch to the quick, but on further consideration I feel that a leader of your status, instead of dragging me should have appreciated the real position and ought not to have invoked your wrath so eloquently expressed in your letter, piling on me so many defamtory and libellous imputations.

I have been advised by a large number of well wishers to seal my lips. I have been asked with all the earnestness that if I wish well of myself, my family and business commitments, I should refrain from serving the cause of the country. My conscience however, impels me to pay my debt to the country even if I be crushed, which surely I will regard as a victory and personal satisfaction. How can there be a quarrel between a ruler and the ruled?

There is a popular belief among the public that you cannot tolerate any opposition whatsoever but my humble request is that in this small span of life you should change this idea and let the public acclaim that Sardarji appreciates those who differ from him, himself exercising the virtue of toleration, which he has recently advocated in South India.

You find yourself perplexed as to how industrialists could go so low as to use the shareholders money for their own personal benefit. Perhaps you are aware that in war-times, and in some cases even—now, many industrialists except some prominent noncerns like Tatas have made abnormal amount of money depiving the shareholders of its benefit. If this can be done, no wonder if the shareholders money is donated for the gaining of the sympathies of the authorities.

As a sequel to the publication of your letter, I am receiving threatening letters and communications from disgruntled old employees and associates that unless I paid them some consideration in one form or other, they would send "all my papers to Sardar Patel" or publish them or kill me or my children or make injuries on themselves and blame me for the same. I am mentioning this only to bring hoe to you how the public mind reacts to utterances like yours.

As you say, I have acquired a habit to make confession of my failings, but I hope you will appreciate that relatively it is not worse than the habit of malgning others. You suggested to me to approach the Investigation Commission to clear my chest, perhaps you will be comforted to know that I did that long before you made the suggestion.

Under the law, possibly you cannot return the money once accepted as a donation but I would certainly request you to use your influence with the trustees of the Fund to donate a substantial sum out of the same to

(Continued On Last Page)

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DALMIA-PATEL BOUT

(Continued From Page 1)

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Besides the contributions by the business community, substantial amounts were donated by persons under pressure, occasionally worse than the old War-Fund collections. If you are indeed enamoured about the purity of the funds, I will suggest that you appoint a Committee of enquiry to go into this matter, and I assure you that the findings will be astounding.

By the exemption of income tax, practically the public exchequer has contributed about four crores out of the five crores donated by the companies. Instead of paying indirectly from the public revenue, it would have been certainly better to enact a legislation for the contribution of ten or twenty crores out of the government funds. Although when I issued my first statement I never thought that it would touch to the quick, but on further consideration I feel that a leader of your status, instead of dragging me should have appreciated the real position and ought not to have invoked your wrath so eloquently expressed in your letter, piling on me so many defamtory and libellous imputations.

I have been advised by a large number of well wishers to seal my lips. I have been asked with all the earnestness that if I wish well of myself, my family and business commitments, I should refrain from serving the cause of the country. My conscience however, impels me to pay my debt to the country even if I be crushed, which surely I will regard as a victory and personal satisfaction. How can there be a quarrel between a ruler and the ruled?

There is a popular belief among the public that you cannot tolerate any opposition whatsoever but my humble request is that in this small span of life you should change this idea and let the public acclaim that Sardarji appreciates those who differ from him, himself exercising the virtue of toleration, which he has recently advocated in South India.

You find yourself perplexed as to how industrialists could go so low as to use the shareholders money for their own personal benefit. Perhaps you are aware that in war-times, and in some cases even—now, many industrialists except some prominent concerns like Tatas have made abnormal amount of money depriving the shareholders of its benefit. If this can be done, no wonder if the shareholders money is donated for the gaining of the sympathies of the authorities.

As a sequel to the publication of your letter, I am receiving threatening letters and communications from disgruntled old employees and associates that unless I paid them some consideration in one form or other, they would send "all my papers to Sardar Patel" or publish them or kill me or my children or make injuries on themselves and blame me for the same. I am mentioning this only to bring hoe to you how the public mind reacts to utterances like yours

As you say, I have acquired a habit to make confession of my failings, but I hope you will appreciate that relatively it is not worse than the habit of malgning others. You suggested to me to approach the Investigation Commission to clear my chest, perhaps you will be comforted to know that I did that long before you made the suggestion.

Under the law, possibly you cannot return the money once accepted as a donation but I would certainly request you to use your influence with the trustees of the Fund to donate a substantial sum out of the same to the cause of the refugees, and in the words of Gandhiji "even the money so earned from a tainted source would become pure if given to a worthy cause" and the blessings of starving masses will give you eternal peace.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/ R. DALMIA.

PATEL'S REPLY

Camp: Birla House,
Bombay
3-5-50.

Dear Seth Dalmia,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st May, 1950. Having regard to the mental attitude which you have displayed in your letter, I regret, I feel completely discouraged from replying to it. The letter clearly shows that there is something radically wrong with you somewhere, and I do not think that any further correspondence with you will serve any useful purpose.

Yours sincerely,
Sd/- VALLABHBHAI PATEL.

India Express 25-5-50

SARDAR'S LAST WORD TO SETH DALMIA

NEW DELHI, May 24.

The correspondence between Sardar Patel and Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia on the Gandhi Memorial Fund collections has been released to the Press.

Following is the text of a letter from Sardar Patel in reply to a letter from Seth Dalmia dated May 21:

Camp: BIRLA HOUSE, Bombay, 23-5-'50.

Dear Seth Dalmia,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st May, 1950. Having regard to the mental attitude which you have disclosed in your letter, I regret I feel completely discouraged from replying to it. The letter clearly shows that there is something radically wrong with you somewhere, and I do not think that any further correspondence with you will serve any useful purpose.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) VALLABHBHAI PATEL.

SETH DALMIA'S LETTER

NEW DELHI, May 21.

The following is the full text of the letter addressed by Seth Dalmia to Sardar Patel:

Dear Sardarji,

I am grateful to you for your letter dated the 4th instant. I have already issued a Press statement which by now you must have seen and a copy of which I am attaching herewith for your reference. I had absolutely no desire to enlarge the controversy further, but it appears the matter is being stretched unnecessarily. Not to mention the attack made by "Hindustan Times" earlier, I particularly refer you to the comments appearing in "Bharat" and "Nav Bharat" Bombay, two papers being managed by your son Shri Dahya Bhai and financed by many prominent merchants. In my armoury there are weapons, weapons sharp enough to effectively reply to the same, but I feel it humiliating to do so, and treat the same with all the contempt it deserves.

Yourself having been the chief instrument of the collections of the Gandhi Memorial Fund, I can appreciate your anxiety to safeguard its reputation. You know, men like Dr. Rajendra Prasad, and other leaders whose integrity, honesty and respect till today is second to none could not evoke an appreciable response from the public and merchants in respect of these funds. Those who sang song of spontaneous offerings in the memory of Gandhiji did not come forward to donate and which in fact necessitated the calling of a meeting at Mussoorie.

I remember that the Government conferred powers by ordinance on the companies empowering the directors and the managing agents to donate to the Gandhi Memorial Fund even if there was no provision in the articles of association of the company. If the sole desire was to associate with the Fund to perpetuate the memory of Gandhiji, why some of these gentlemen did not pay from their purse in spite of being capable of having easily many folds more, but persuaded the Government to empower them to pay them out of the poor shareholders money.

Besides the contributions by the business community, substantial amounts were donated by persons under pressure, occasionally worse than the old War Fund collections. If you are indeed enamoured about the purity of the funds, I will suggest that you appoint a committee of enquiry to go into this matter, and I assure you that the findings will be astounding.

By the exemption of income tax, practically the public exchequer has contributed about 2½ crores out of the 5 crores donated by the companies. Instead of paying indirectly from the public revenue, it would have been certainly better to enact a legislation for the contribution of ten or twenty crores out of the Government funds. Although when I issued my first statement I never thought that it would touch to the quick? But, on further consideration, I feel that a leader of your status, instead of dragging me should have appreciated the real position and ought not to have invoked your wrath so eloquently expressed in your letter piling on me so many defamatory and libellous imputations.

"I have been advised by a large number of well-wishers to seal my lips. I have been asked with all the earnestness that if I wish well of myself, my family and business commitments, I should refrain from serving the cause of the country. My conscience, however, impels me to pay my debt to the country even if I be crushed, which surely I will regard as a victory and personal satisfaction. How can there be a quarrel between a ruler and the ruled?

"There is a popular belief among the public that you cannot tolerate any opposition whatever, but my humble request is that in this small span of life you should change this idea and let the public acclaim that now Sardarji appreciates those who differ from him, himself exercising the virtue of toleration which he has recently advocated in South India.

'You find yourself perplexed as to how industrialists could go so low as to use the shareholders' money for their own personal benefit, perhaps you are aware that in war times, and in some cases even now, many industrialists except some prominent concerns like Tatas, have made abnormal amount of money depriving the shareholders of its benefit. If this can be done, no wonder if the shareholders' money is donated for the gaining of the sympathies of the authorities."

As a sequel to the publication of your letter, I am receiving threatening letters and communications from disgruntled old employees and associates that unless I paid them some consideration in one form or other, they would send "all my papers to Sardar Patel" or publish them or kill me or my children or make injuries on themselves and blame me for the same. I am mentioning this only to bring home to you how the public mind reacts to utterances like yours.

As you say, I have acquired a habit to make confession of my failings; but I hope you will appreciate that relatively it is to approach the Investigation Commission to clear my chest. Perhaps you will be comforted to know that I did that long before you made the suggestion.

Under the law possibly you cannot return the money once accepted as a donation but I would certainly request you to use your influence with the Trustees of the Fund to donate a substantial sum out of the same to the cause of the refugees, and in the words of Gandhiji "even the money so earned from a tainted source would become pure if given to a worthy cause" and the blessings of starving masses will give you eternal peace.

Your Sincerely,
(Sd.) R. Dalmia.

VERSES ON GANDHIJI TO BE COMPILED

RAJKOT, May 24.

A volume containing verses on Gandhiji is to be compiled under the direction of Mr. Narandas Gandhi, Chairman of the Saurashtra Constructive Workers' Committee. A special temporary office to be opened for the purpose will be known as 'Gandhi Geet Karvalaya.'

Representatives will be sent out to Gujarat, Cutch and throughout Saurashtra to collect material and contact poets and bards for the purpose.

The volume is expected to be divided into two parts, one containing classical poems and the other folk songs.—P.T.I.

A. B. Patrika 30-5-50

Nehru Asks Seth Dalmia To Expiate Admitted Wrongs

Co-operation With Income-Tax Enquiry Urged: Texts Of Letters

NEW DELHI, May 29.

Apropos Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia's statements regarding Gandhiji Memorial Fund Sri Dharma Vira, Secretary to the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru wrote a letter to Seth Dalmia asking him to expiate his admitted wrongs by co-operative in every way with the Income-tax Investigation Commission. In reply to this letter Seth Dalmia wrote to Prime Minister Pandit Nehru saying that he had done his duty towards the Commission long before he issued the said statement to the Press.

Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia has released the following correspondence between the Prime Minister Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru and himself:—

Letter from the Secretary to the Prime Minister to Seth Dalmia:—

Prime Minister's Secretariat
New Delhi, 6th May 1950.

My Dear Shri Dalmia,

The attention of the Prime Minister has been drawn to some statements which you have issued to the press and more particularly to a statement which appears in the Times of India' of May 3rd in which you refer to the suffering of the refugees from various parts of Pakistan. In the course of these statements you have often referred to the fact that large sums of money were made by some industrialists and others by means that were not entirely fair and that they are suffering from pangs of conscience in consequence. You refer to the money subscribed to the Gandhi Memorial Fund and to contributions to it being made because of the fear of the Income Tax Investigation Commission. You say that you yourself were one of the victims of the temptation to escape from this fear of action by the Income-Tax Investigation Commission by giving donations to the Gandhi Memorial Fund.

FACILITATE ENQUIRY

The Prime Minister thinks that in view of your own admissions, the only course open to you is to facilitate in every way the inquiry of the Income-Tax Investigation Commission. He understands that among the cases being considered by this Commission are some in which your firms are involved. He has been informed that no co-operation is forthcoming for this investigation and that in fact all kinds of obstructions are placed in the way of its work so as to delay matters. If you really feel that you have committed wrong in the past, the way of expiation is to admit that wrong completely and frankly and to make such amends as may be possible. That way is open to you in regard to the Income-Tax Investigation Commission and he trusts that you will therefore, co-operate in every way with this enquiry so that it may be brought to a conclusion as rapidly as possible.

The Prime Minister is suggesting to the Income-Tax Investigation Commission to take up this matter with all speed. Delay, in any event, will not be advantageous to any party as the Commission will inevitably to go on its work till it completes it.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd) Dharma Vira.

DALMIA'S LETTER TO NEHRU

Letter from Seth Dalmia to the Prime Minister:

Dalmia House, New Delhi
May 23, 1950.

Dear Panditji,

I am in receipt of our Secretary's letter No. 5(6)/50-PMS dated the 6th May, 1950, on your behalf. I wish you had written to me personally.

The interpretation of para 2 of the said letter is, that you have been informed, that such firms of mine whose cases are pending before the Investigation Commission, are offering no co-operation, and putting all sorts of obstacles in the way of the Commission. I do not know, in what capacity you made this enquiry, from whom and who gave you this information. You will no doubt realise how great is the apprehension of miscarriage of justice, if the Prime Minister provoked by certain statements in the press by an accused, whose cases are pending before the Commission begins to make anxious enquiries from, and makes suggestions to the Tribunal whose duty is to dispense justice, after all the Commission is performing, if not wholly, at least quasi judicial functions and if the administration of justice is interferred with by persons in executive authority, there can be no end of abuse which, I am sure, you will readily agree, is the least that is tolerated in any democratic country.

I am greatful to you for the advice tendered to me, perhaps you will have some satisfaction to know, that long before I issued the statement to the press, I had done my duty towards the Commission, and we are rendering all co-operation to the Investigation Commission.

You must have seen letter of Sardar Patel addressed to me and later released to the press by Sardarji. That the language and the strain in which it is couched does not befit the Deputy Prime Minister of the country, is not for me to say, but the receipt of your letter about the same time enacts a coincidence with meaning. He also refers to me about the Commission. I do not believe that, provoked by home-thrusts any attempts have already been made or will be made directly or indirectly to prejudice the cases that are pending. I still remember what unwholesome impression it left on the country's mind when in Mr. Shanmukham Chetty's episode it was discovered that some notices had not been issued by the Commission to some stalwarts of industry. You and the country know the whole story and no amount of smoke screen can conceal it.

I thought you would ascertain the truth about the contributions to the Gandhi Memorial Fund, and knowing that same appreciate it, about which you might have been in darkness but unfortunately you have been rather provoked.

One wonders how a simple, good and dispassionate heart like yours has, by the passage of time, age, responsibility and power, undergone such a metamorphosis. I still remember, with some pride, how you wrote to me apologising the reference to your remarks about my purchase of National Herald shares.

I have been strongly advised that instead of receiving co-operation for this Godly mission, the 'powers' will crush me, will destroy me and my business, and that distress may visit my companies. When I have undertaken the cause of the refugees, the unemployed and middle class, I may have to face all those things, but that will at the same time amply demonstrate how fascism works under the cloak of democracy, and how anything of the type can happen, before the ink with which the Constitution of the country has been signed is dried up. God save our cuntry and our countrymen.

Yours Sincerely,
(Sd.) R. DALMIA.
—(U.P.I.)

wings of India 30-5-50

Income-Tax Investigation Commission

NEHRU-DALMIA CORRESPONDENCE

From Our Staff Correspondent

NEW DELHI, May 29.

THE following correspondence between the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia has been released for publication by Seth Dalmia.

Mr. Dharma Vira, on behalf of the Prime Minister, wrote to Seth Dalmia from Delhi, on May 6 as follows:

"Prime Minister's Secretariat, New Delhi, 6th May, 1950; My Dear Shri Dalmia:—The attention of the Prime Minister has been drawn to some statements which you have issued to the Press and more particularly to a statement which appears in *The Times of India* of May 3rd in which you refer to the sufferings of the refugees from various parts of Pakistan. In the course of these statements you have often referred to the fact that large sums of money were made by some industrialists and others by means that were not entirely fair and that they are suffering from pangs of conscience in consequence. You refer to the money subscribed to the Gandhi Memorial Fund and to contributions to it being made because of the fear of the Income Tax investigation Commission. You say that you yourself were one of the victims of the temptation to escape from this fear of action by the Income Tax Investigation Commission by giving donations to the Gandhi Memorial Fund.

"The Prime Minister thinks that in view of your own admissions the only course open to you is to facilitate in every way the inquiry of the Income Tax Investigation Commission. He understands that among the cases being considered by this Commission are some in which your firms are involved. He has been informed that no co-operation is forthcoming for this investigation and that in fact all kinds of obstructions are placed in the way of its work so as to delay matters. If you really feel that you have committed wrong in the past, the way of expiation is to admit that wrong completely and frankly and to make such amends as may be possible.

"That way is open to you in regard to the Income Tax Investigation Commission and he trusts that you will, therefore, co-operate in every way with this inquiry so

(*Continued on page 7*)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GANDHI FUND

Nehru-Dalmia Letters

(*Continued from page 1*)

that it may be brought to a conclusion as rapidly as possible.

"The Prime Minister is suggesting to the Income Tax Investigation Commission to take up this matter with all speed. Delay, in any event, will not be advantageous to any party as the Commission will inevitably go on with its work till it completes it. Yours Sincerely, Sd. Dharma Vira."

Seth Dalmia sent the following reply: "Dalmia House, New Delhi, May 23, 1950; Dear Panditji:—I am in receipt of your Secretary's letter No. DS/5388 dated the 6th May, 1950, on your behalf. I wish you had written to me personally.

"The interpretation of Para 2 of the said letter is, that you have been informed, that such firms of mine whose cases are pending before the Investigation Commission, are offering no co-operation, and putting all sorts of obstacles in the way of the Commission.

"I do not know, in what capacity you made this inquiry, from whom and who gave you this information. You will no doubt realise how great is the apprehension of miscarriage of justice, if the Prime Minister provoked by certain statements in the press by an assessee, whose cases are pending before the Commission begins to make anxious inquiries from and makes suggestions to the Tribunal whose duty is to dispense justice.

"After all the Commission is performing, if not wholly, at least quasi judicial functions and if the administration of justice is interfered with by persons in executive authority, there can be no end of abuse which I am sure you will readily agree, is the least that is tolerated in any democratic country.

GRATITUDE FOR ADVICE

"I am grateful to, you for the advice tendered to me. Perhaps you will have some satisfaction to know, that long before I issued the statement to the press I had done my duty towards the Commission, and we are rendering all co-operation to the Investigation Commission.

"You must have seen the letter of Sardar Patel addressed to me and later released to the press by Sardarji. That the language and the strain in which it is couched does not befit the Deputy Prime Minister of the country, is not for me to say, but the receipt of your letter about the same time enacts a coincidence with meaning. He also refers to me about the Commission. I do not believe that provoked by home-truths any attempts have already been made or will be made directly or indirectly to prejudice the cases that are pending. I still remember what unwholesome impression it left on the country's mind when in Mr. Shanmukham Chetty's episode, it was discovered that some notices had not been issued by the Commission to some stalwarts of industry. You and the country know the whole story and no amount of smoke screen can conceal it.

"I thought you would ascertain the truth about the contributions to the Gandhi Memorial Fund, and knowing the same appreciate it, about which you might have been in darkness but unfortunately you have been rather provoked.

"One wonders how a simple, good and dispassionate heart like yours has, by the passage of time, age, responsibility and power, undergone such a metamorphosis. I still remember, with some pride, how you wrote to me, apologising in reference to your remarks about my purchase of *National Herald* shares.

"I have been strongly advised that instead of receiving co-operation for this godly mission, the powers will crush me, will destroy me and my business, and that distress may visit my companies. When I have undertaken the cause of the refugees, the unemployed and middle class, I may have to face all those things, but that will at the same time amply demonstrate how fascism works under the cloak of democracy, and how anything of the type can happen, before the ink with which the Constitution of the country has been signed is dried up. God save our country and our countrymen. Yours Sincerely, Sd. R. Dalmia."

MAHADEVBHAI'S DIARIES—XVII

Further Thoughts On Censorship—Gen. Botha's Spontaneous Gesture—Worship Truth—"Sky Lover"—"Its Magnificence Is Tranquillising"

JULY 24, 1932.

TRANSLATED BY PARAMANAND DESAI (By Kind Permission Of The Navjivan Trust)

DURING his morning constitutional today, Bapu revived the subject of the previous night's discussion (regarding the delaying of letters written in Gujarati). Vallabhbhai, asked for his opinion, said: "If we are forced to write under these conditions, it would be better to stop writing letters altogether. This, however, will produce no effect on the authorities."

To this Bapu answered, "It matters little if it creates no impression on them; in the end, though, it is bound to succeed."

On being asked again for my opinion, I remarked: "If we accept the censoring of letters written in English (that is, if we accept the fact that, for want of faith in us, they scrutinise such letters) then why not submit to such treatment in respect of all letters written in Gujarati? The function of the office of the Oriental Translator is to translate, not to offer opinions."

Botha's Example

Bapu: "That may be true. But I am not saying that they accept the opinion given by the Translator's office. All they need to do is to summon a dependable officer to go through these letters, which might then be passed even as letters in English are passed. But, as a matter of fact, they do not trust even these officers, and ask for translations of all the letters. That is a terrible affront to us.

"General Botha, for example, insisted on speaking in Dutch, though he knew English and it was to his interest to speak in English. It was a spontaneous gesture on his part. No one in South Africa had urged him to do so. Why should not a similar thought occur to us? The writing of letters is not an imperative duty. I could surely get on without it. The letters only afford me some satisfaction, and to others a certain degree of consolation. But if the official action is derogatory to our language and betrays lack of faith in our people, the practice of writing letters had better be abandoned. And, isn't it truly terrible that if when I write to a person on his death-bed who is pining for a letter from me, he were to die before the letter could pass through the censorship, I could understand it if they should tell me that they cannot cope with the work with the small staff at their disposal. But, instead of leaving the job to a reliable officer, they insist on looking into everything themselves. I am indignant because there is lack of confidence in the jailor and the superintendent here. But we are helpless when they have not the guts to do the right thing."

Truth & God

Turning to Vallabhbhai, Bapu then observed. "In Sanskrit you come across two expressions 'Shreya' (meaning that which is desirable and praiseworthy) and 'Preya' (that which is feasible). In the present context, to continue writing letters is 'Preya', while to stop doing so is 'Shreya'."

Today he wrote nineteen letters to inmates of the Ashram. He gave every one of them the warning that they should not worry if the letters should cease suddenly. This was symbolic of his non-attachment. To Prabhudas he wrote about Truth and God. "There is nothing more to be said about Truth. It is difficult to define God. The definition of Truth dwells in every heart. What you believe to be true is Truth, and it is your God. Worship of this, his own conception of Truth, leads man finally to the absolute Truth and that is God. I am now reading the Vedas, and I find the same view expressed there. In my opinion, unless we know how to live righteously all reading is unavailing. In this life of Truth there is no room for dissemblance. The votary of Truth is in every respect what he appears to be. You will find in him unity of thought, word and deed. The secret of self-realisation lies within himself; he does not need to read learned books to lead a righteous life."

"Sky Reading"

Writing to Kakasaheb on "sky reading", Bapu wrote: "My interest is of a different type. Gazing on the sky gives me a sense of infinite purity, regularity and magnificence which purifies me. May be, if we could reach the stars or the planets we shall experience there the same pleasant and unpleasant things as on this earth. But their beauty at this distance and their cool radiance exercise a tranquillising effect on me. When we are in communion with the skies it matters little where we happen to be. It is like having the Ganges flowing by one's door. All these thoughts have made me a sky lover, and through such reading I derive knowledge that is satisfying."

(To be continued.)

A SYMBOL OF STRENGTH

—By—

HEM BARUA

BARDOLOI was to me a symbol of strength and determination; he was born in 1891; he became the Premier of Assam in 1938. Then followed World War II and the stormy days of '42; the Congress-Coalition Government of Assam resigned on the War issue. Gopinathji again became the Head of the Government in 1946. Biographical details do not count in a life like this; he lives in our memory as an institution wedded to a "cause." He was like a lonely pine silhouetted against the firmament stained wintered by the fire of the rising sun. His features were rough and heavy; they indicated a robust man, both physically and mentally. Death crept on him; it is work, heavy work that cracked him.

Bardoloi's rise to power and prestige was not accidental; neither was it meteoric. It was inevitable. The sense of right-doing in him dominated all other things and spotlighted his virtues. He was essentially human.

Gopinathji was not a silver-spooned man. He had known the bitter pangs of life, its conflict and chaos. He was an instance of fortune favouring the brave, although material fortune he had but little. Bardoloi was brave; yet his bravery was not "doggish" which as Katherine Mansfield points out consists in a mere external "show up" of things.

Bardoloi believed in work; his stamina for work was inexhaustible. He patterned his life on the gospel of the 'Gita.'—A keen student of history, he had a great love of books and read politics, poetry and philosophy with equal zeal. One hears him discuss H. G. Wells' scientific romances or Spengler's 'Decline of the West' as easily as Buddhist philosophy or Assamese Vaishnavite culture. He had a deep intellectual content.

Gopinathji was a man of peace and spiritual equipoise; his judgements were neither lop-sided nor illusory. His was a steady genius which possesses a searching vision into the heart of things and problems; few understood the various problems of Assam as squarely as he did. He could see the menace with which Assam was threatened because of the "open invasion" of the Muslim population from East Bengal. His article "The Land Settlement Problem in Assam" which was published all over India is a searching analysis of a complex problem. In spite of this, he was free from any communal feeling. He wrote well and had a good command of the English language. His style is precise and clear. It is well-knit and "edgy."

Bardoloi's bold protest destroyed the Anglo-League designs to associate Assam with Bengal provided in the Cabinet Mission's proposals. He characterised the proposals on Group 'C' as basically a "negation of democracy." It was negative both of democracy and decorum.

Bardoloi's phrases were not catchphrases; his views were not "borrowed plumes." He was capable of original approach and independent judgment. In the Post-August Revolution days, under the influence of Jukswami Congressmen and the "People's-War" theorists, the "Quit India" Resolution fell to disrepute. He alone at a time, when his compatriots were in prison stood by it, owned it and called the "Quit India" Resolution "our Charter of Liberty." It was possibly the only solitary defence of the Movement in public till at last Pandit Nehru came out of prison and raised it to its legitimate claims.

Maxwell utilised the British propaganda machine to dishonour the Congress as a Pro-Japanese Organisation. Tottenham's "Congress Responsibility" was calculated to give a fillip to it. Bardoloi's bold plea for "collective security" when Japanese armed forces clanged in Kohima knocked Maxwell to his senses; it delved him out of a land of nightmares and Congress-cum-Fascist Ghost. Ultimately Maxwell was forced to deny on the floor of the Central Assembly the charge of Pro-Japanism against the Congress. Bardoloi's realism impressed Sorensen; his reference to him in the British Parliament is self-revealing.

Music like sports was his 'forte.' While young he played on several instruments as well as he handled a cricket bat, a tennis racket or draughts on a chess-board.

—Courtesy, *Amrit Bazar Patrika.*

MAHADEVBHAI'S DIARIES—XXIII

Bapu on His Fast—No Pressure on Any One—Explaining His Decision to Friends—"Peremptory Call from God"

TRANSLATED BY PARAMANAND DESAI (By Kind Permission Of The Navjivan Trust)

September 14.

In the eveging Bapu said: "Whether or not they release me you should know the art of making bread and give me the recipe in writing."

"If I am released along with you, I shall write it down for you wherever we happen to be then." I answered. "Otherwise I shall send it to you from here."

Bapu: "It seems as if you do not intend to write it. Once we master the art it is my intention to introduce a change for the benefit of all prisoners, and to start small bakeries in all jails."

"How can I manage all this in one day?" I observed. "You are leaving us tomorrow. How will you be able to do all this then?"

Bapu was irritated by my answer and said: "That knowledge can never be wasted and I am not going to die tomorrow. I shall be able to write to Doyle even after I have been set free, and we shall be able to make the necessary changes."

Referring to Dr. Ambedkar, I remarked to Bapu: "If everyone were to propitiate before him, that would aggravate his conceit. In his own circles he would claim proudly that he had compelled Gandhi to fast and that it was nice to have propitious people around him."

"Yes, that would be bad indeed." Bapu replied. Nargis and other ladies may now be in his camp. I certainly do not like the idea of their propitiating him. But what can be done about it?"

Is it not one of the more deplorable consequences of the fast that it should create such a situation, I wonder. Why should Bapu, through fasting, allow everything to hang on one man's whim.

Continuing, Bapu said: "That is why I feel that it would have been better if they were not to release me and to allow me to face death here. If I am set free, however, I shall place all my cards on the table. Only if Ambedkar is convinced of the righteousness of my call should he agree. No pressure should be brought to bear upon him. I will warn the Hindus that unless they follow the right path I will employ against them the same weapon that I am now using against Ambedkar. I will notify the government on the very first day that my ideas remain unchanged, that I will continue to give the same advices to people who desire to offer civil disobedience, and that therefore they might rearrest me, if they want to.

September 15.

Savitri wrote to Bapu saying that her husband confessed inability to practice brahmacharya and he contended that in Europe such things were not practised and that, in any case, they were not blind followers of Gandhi.

To this Bapu wrote in reply:

"I think Satyavan's problem is simple. No person can go beyond his or her limits. You cannot force anyone to be chaste. He or she must have the entire conviction. You can give the fullest freedom to separate himself from you and get a divorce decree if necessary. He must be at liberty to marry some other woman of his choice. It is most dangerous to have a carnal mind constantly breeding over satisfaction of animal persion. You must surround him with all the affection you can give him and not judge him harshly. It is to his credit that he has striven all these years to control himself. Of course, if you have the slightest desire to satisfy his craving, you should regard yourself at liberty to do so. For you both came to joint conclusion about self-control. If now one par-

Bapu and Mahadevbhai

ty wishes to revise the agreement the other may also, if there is the desire. Whereas if you are satisfied that you have no craving at all you must resist every enemy from Satyavan as lovingly as possible, but with the utmost firmness. Let him read this letter. Let him chew over it and pray to God for light. And if he finds that he cannot bring his passion under subjection, he must take another wife if you have no wish to surrender. You should part as friends. If you have to part, what happens to you is a matter of little concern. If you have the strength, as I know you have, you will earn your bread by your own labour.

"May God help you and bless you both.

With deep love,
Yours Bapu."

September 16.

To Nargis Bapu wrote about the fast:

"No cause for sorrow; every cause for rejoicing that a member of the family has been given by God the opportunity of offering the supreme sacrifice for the purest cause that could be thought of. There should be no cessation of the fast even partially. For you all it is a time for greater devotion to work and self-purification. You are going to brace up every one who is at all disposed to give way to grief.

"Love to you all including the caged birds."

To Dr. Anari he wrote:

"You have been sending your lovely cards. This is just to send you and Shevanti our love and prayer that both of you may soon be restored to perfect health and soon return home.

"You have no doubt read all about the step I have taken. It was a peremptory call from God which I could not resist. I hope you had no difficulty in appreciating the step. The future is in His hands.

"The situation is moving so fast that it is difficult to say what will have happened when this reaches you.

Supposing that this proves my last letter to you, let me tell you that my faith in Hindu-Muslim Unity is as green as ever and that I feel the richer for having many Muslim friends who are as blood brothers to me."

To Romain Rolland:

"Dear Friend and Brother,

"On the eve of taking the momentous step in my life I would like to tell you how I prize those days I had with you and your great, good and devoted sister, Mahadev Desai is with me. We often think of you.

"I wonder how you have felt over the contemplated step. I can only say that it was decided upon in obedience to the imperative voice of conscience.

With love to you both."

To Polak:

"Dear Henry and Millie,

"Well, I expect you to fully understand and appreciate the step I am about to take. It was an irresistible call from within. Pray tell Charlie. I am not writing to him as I am not sure of his movements.

With love to you all—Bhai."

To Muriel:

"On the eve of the (to me) sacred step I am about to take I want to tell you I have been thinking constantly of the whole of the Kingsley Hall family among whom I passed so many happy months."

date mon 3-10-5

DANGER OF KOREAN WAR SPREADING

NEHRU'S GANDHI JAYANTI ADDRESS

INDO-PAKISTAN DISPUTES WILL BE SOLVED

DEFENCE OF PACT ON MINORITIES

BY A STAFF REPORTER

The recent victories of the U.N. forces in Korea had revived the fear of the Korean war developing into a "greater conflict", said Pandit Nehru at a public meeting in Delhi on Monday held in connexion with Gandhi Jayanti celebrations.

THE Premier spoke for nearly 100 minutes and reviewed practically all topical subjects both at home and abroad.

He expressed concern over the increasing tension among nations of the world, hoped for early solution of Indo-Pakistan disputes, wished that general elections in India would be held soon, appeared satisfied with the Nasik session, commended the work of the Planning Commission and advised displaced persons to have a more practical view of the problem of their rehabilitation.

Referring to Korea, Pandit Nehru said that what happened to that country was of great importance, because it had such powerful neighbours as Russia and China. Much devastation had been done in Korea during the last three months of fighting. "It is a great thing these days if one can save oneself from one's saviours because saviours sometimes lead to one's ruin".

When fighting started in Korea there was the danger of its spreading and developing into a world-wide conflagration. In her own way, India had tried to avert that catastrophe and may be had succeeded to a certain extent in influencing the events which followed. The position had altered and now the U.N. forces, comprised mostly of American troops, had had a resounding victory. This once again created the same fear that the fighting might spread to other countries.

Pandit Nehru said he saw nothing but distrust and suspicion in the world. Most countries were dominated by fear and the position at present was explosive. He summed up the international situation by remarking: "We walk today on the razor's edge".

INDO-PAKISTAN DISPUTES

Similar fear prevailed among the peoples of India and Pakistan. They still had many disputes but it was a happy sign that in India now "people do not get excited so much over our differences with Pakistan as they did some time ago".

He was confident the time would come when all disputes with Pakistan would be solved. It should be the endeavour of the Government and people of India to bring that day nearer.

Leaving aside the question of Kashmir, the main disputes with Pakistan, he said, were over evacuee property and canal water. Recently they had offered to refer the disputes to a judicial tribunal consisting of judges from India as well as Pakistan. This was a peaceful method of solving the problems. He still awaited Pakistan's reply on the point.

(See also page 4)

MINORITIES PACT

Pandit Nehru defended the Minorities Pact and saw no justification in the criticism levelled against it. He admitted the Pact had not solved the problem, but, he said, "the problems of life do not get solved so quickly". The Pact was a step towards solution and there was no doubt that it had "removed terror from the minds of millions of people on both sides of the

(Continued on back page column 5)

PREMIER'S GANDHI JAYANTI ADDRESS

(Continued from page 1 column 2)

border". Many Hindus who had earlier come to India had gone back and, according to latest figures, more were going back to East Bengal than coming from there.

With regard to the refugees' demand for rehabilitation, the Prime Minister said the Government was eager to resettle them. But in the ultimate analysis their rehabilitation depended on their own efforts and the amount of hard work they could put in.

They had suggested collection of several hundred crores of rupees for the purpose but that was not practicable. If they could raise that much of money, not only could displaced persons be resettled but many economic projects could also be implemented.

Pandit Nehru said he was not satisfied with the state of affairs in the Congress or the country. There was too much of narrowmindedness and they frittered away their energy in petty squabbles. The mind of a section of the people was preoccupied with the coming general elections and all they did was repudiate by a desire to win the elections. He personally gave little thought to the elections except hoping they would be held soon.

H.T. 3.10.50

GANDHI JAYANTI IN THE CAPITAL

Leaders Join Prayer Meeting At Mahatma's 'Samadhi'

(By Our Staff Correspondent)

The people of Delhi paid their homage to Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of his 81st birthday anniversary yesterday. Ceremonies were marked by austere simplicity.

The day began with 'prabhat pheris' singing of devotional songs, particularly those that were dear to Gandhiji's heart. The processions converged on Rajghat where floral wreaths were placed on Gandhiji's 'samadhi' from the early hours of the morning.

From 5 a.m. there was a steady crowd of devotees who came to offer their homage. Silently they went round the *samadhi*, bowed in reverence and made their offerings. Many burnt incense and put coins in the collection box in a corner.

A special prayer was held at 7 a.m. in the spacious lawns facing the *samadhi*. Among those who participated in the prayer were the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru Mr C. Rajagopalachari, Mr and Mrs Munshi, and Mr R. R. Diwakar. After the prayers, which included recitation from Buddhist, Jain and Hindu scriptures, the Koran, Bible and other religious books, the *Ram Dhun* was sung.

Pandit Nehru who was accompanied by his daughter, Mrs Indira Gandhi, placed a wreath at the *samadhi* after the prayers were over. He later joined in the programme of mass spinning. Among others who participated in the mass spinning were Mr Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister, and Mr R. R. Diwakar.

NAGPUR

Mr A. M. Makade, Minister for Excise and Tribal Welfare, Madhya Pradesh, has called for public co-operation in making prohibition successful.

Mr Makade says: "While the Government can claim a fair measure of success it is not satisfied with the progress made so far, and feels that any further progress in this direction can only be achieved by the wholehearted co-operation of the public at large, and the political, social and religious organizations, in particular the *panchayats*, *janapada sabhas* and other local bodies."

MADRAS

Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated throughout Madras State and the United States of Travancore-Cochin.

Synchronizing with the "Gandhi Jayanti Week," the Madras Government inaugurated a "compost week" in towns and villages. During the week, officials of the Revenue and Agricultural Departments will bring home to the ryots the importance of compost in agricultural production and also teach them how compost can be produced.

In Madras city, the ward Congress committees held prayer meetings and non-stop spinning. There was flag-hoisting in schools and public institutions.

Flag-hoisting, spinning and distribution of edibles to the poor were the main features of the celebrations at Trichinopoly, Madura and Coimbatore. At Madura, a silver statue of Mahatma Gandhi was taken out in procession to the accompaniment of music.

PATNA

Some 1,000 sweepers of the Patna City Municipality launched a clean-Patna-drive in observance of the Gandhi Jayanti Week. The drive will continue throughout the week and eight best sweepers of each ward will be given cash prizes by the municipal authorities at the conclusion of the week.

The celebrations began at Sadaqual Ashram, H.Q. of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, with the hoisting of the Tricolour by Mr Lakshmi Narayan Sudhansu, President of the P.C.C., in the presence of about 100 prominent Congressmen and *ashramites*.

Sacrificial spinning was also held for an hour at Sadaqual Ashram by the inmates.

ALLAHABAD

Shreemati Amrit Kaur, Health Minister, Government of India, addressing students asked them to follow Mahatma Gandhi's teachings of truth and non-violence and to engage themselves wholeheartedly in the "uplift of the teeming millions of this poor country."

The Health Minister said that it was their supreme duty to keep alive the flame that had been kindled by Bapu in this country. Students, she advised, should sincerely take up to social uplift work.

BOMBAY

Gandhi Jayanti celebrations commenced with *prabhat pheries* and a mass prayer meeting organized by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee. This was followed by a one-hour sacrificial spinning.

Mr S. K. Patil, Mayor of Bombay and President of the B.P.C.C., speaking at a thal-hoisting ceremony paid a tribute to the life and work of Mahatma Gandhi. His unique contribution to the nation was the achievement of freedom through truth and non-violence and "it should be our endeavour to live up to the precepts of Mahatma Gandhi by following the path he has shown us," Mr Patil said.

Mr Morarji Desai, Home Minister, inaugurating an exhibition organized by the Khadi Board, said that Mahatma Gandhi's preachings were based on simplicity, truth and love. "It is for us now to build up the economy of the country by the principles and methods taught to us by him."

LAHORE

Representatives of all communities gathered in Lahore to pay tributes to Mahatma Gandhi on the occasion of his birthday.

A meeting was held under the presidentship of the Deputy High Commissioner for India and was attended among others by members of the Diplomatic Corps, leaders of political parties, including Sooft Abdul Hamid, president of the Provincial Muslim League, and editors of local newspapers.

The outstanding feature of the celebrations was recitation of select passages from Gita, Quran, Bible, Granth Sahib and Zeed Avesta by representatives of various religions.

Sooft Abdul Hamid, addressing the gathering, said there would be no end of all disputes between India and Pakistan if people of the two countries put into practice the ideals of love and service preached by Mahatma Gandhi. It was Mahatma's ambition, he added, to see India and Pakistan living on most cordial terms. He always fought for Hindu-Muslim unity and gave up his life for this cause.

Gandhiji's Portrait Unveiled

(From Our Correspondent)

LUCKNOW, Oct. 2.—The delegates from many nations who have gathered here for the Pacific Relations Conference joined in paying homage to Mahatma Gandhi. Many of them considered themselves to be fortunate to be in India on this day.

Many of them participated in the main function at Council House this morning when Pandit Pant unveiled a portrait of Gandhiji. The portrait was done by Chandra Rani of Shantiniketan.

The function began with the singing of *Vande Mataram* and Ramdhun. This was followed by the unveiling of the portrait of the Father of the Nation. Pandit Pant pointed out that Gandhiji's teachings alone showed the way to world peace. After this, Gandhiji's teachings were recited, and the simple and inspiring function came to a close with the singing of *Jana Gana Mana*.

The highlight of the celebrations at Government House was the unveiling of Gandhiji's portrait by Pandit Pant at the entrance hall of Government House.

The day dawned to the tune of *prabhat pheries* and there were flag-hoisting ceremonies in all parts of the city. A.I.R. arranged talks on Gandhiji and his teachings.

Gandhiji Never Stood For Appeasement

NEW YORK, Oct. 2—Mahatma Gandhi was "a terrible meek" who led a movement of real resistance against aggression, said Mrs. Edith S. Sampson, member of the U.S. delegation to the U.N., speaking at a Gandhi birthday meeting here yesterday.

She told an India League gathering: "We Negroes know from experience that the brutal will to dominate cannot be appeased by concessions to it. Mahatma Gandhi never stood for appeasement."

"We American Negroes think of Mahatma Gandhi as the champion of those who are victims of discrimination and poverty. We have perhaps a special understanding of the ideals of the Mahatma and the problems of Pandit Nehru. We know that non-violence is a practical method of struggle in a democracy," she said.

American Negroes, Mrs Sampson added, would not, however, prefer Communism to the stage in democracy they had now reached.

"We can tell the difference between a slave system and democracy," she said. "We know slaves never have to worry about unemployment, for instance, but we will not exchange a measure of freedom for a precarious peace for ourselves."

Negroes would not be "easily misled by false slogans," such as the "war-of-colour" propaganda raised by the Communist Press over Korea, she said.

Communist propagandists had dragged the "race" and "colour" angle into the Korean conflict but they were silent about the Negro forces fighting under the U.N. Those Negro soldiers had given the reply to the threat of a "new imperialism," she said.—P.T.I.-Reuter.

H.T. 3.10.50

Parties Should Be Based On Principles

President Unveils Gandhiji's Portrait

(From Our Staff Correspondent)

SIMLA, Oct. 2.—The President, Dr Rajendra Prasad, who performed the unveiling ceremony of Gandhiji's portrait in the Punjab Legislative Assembly this evening, exhorted members to bear his ideals in mind when transacting the business of the House.

The President said: "In the Constitution that we have adopted our country it has been provided that every adult citizen shall have the right of voting in the election of the representatives to the legislatures and it is our expectation that honest and sincere people of our country would be elected to these legislatures. I also hope that these people would work to promote the interests and welfare of the people and would get due popular recognition for the same.

"The Constitution, as it is today, implies that type of party Government such as exists in England and I do hope that the Government would also function in the manner as it does in England."

The President said that in this connection, however, he would like to emphasize the fact that parties could be of different types. There could be parties of the type as there were in England and there could be parties of other types as well. "In any case factional groups which often developed in our country could not be termed party in the right sense of the term. A party to my mind means one which has got a clear-cut programme of its own—a programme conceived in the interests of and for the well-being of the people."

Dr Prasad observed that there could of course be differences between parties, but the growth of selfish factions and groups of the type they witnessed these days was extremely reprehensible. "I need not repeat that no harm would be done if parties arise in this country with the object of truly and honestly serving the people. A true servant of the people should be always willing to exchange the highest position for the lowest if the interests of the country so demand. I personally feel that I would have no hesitation in taking up the work of a volunteer and sending the volunteer who is working there to take my place as President."

Paying glowing tributes to Gandhiji the President said: "Our life would continue to be influenced for years to come by his teachings and philosophy. It will be a matter of great edification and illumination for us to dwell on this auspicious day, contemplate and reflect on his teachings."

Referring to partition and the conditions following it, the President said that the State Government had successfully striven to bring about order in the chaos that was reigning and had succeeded to an extent that it could be said today that the administration of the State had acquired a character and had reached that level of efficiency which any other State possessed.

COMPENSATION TO REFUGEES

With regard to the question of paying compensation for the losses suffered by displaced persons, the President said: "I know that it is no easy task to compensate the people for the losses they had to suffer on account of partition, and it may well be that it may not be possible to compensate them fully at any time even in the future. But even then every attempt is being made to provide to them as great relief as possible."

The Speaker of the Punjab Assembly, Sardar Kapur Singh, extending a hearty welcome to the President, said: "The portrait of Mahatma Gandhi will serve constant reminder of the great ideals which will enable them to think, speak and act in a manner in which the Father of the Nation would have liked them to do."

H.T. 3-10-50

SITUATION IN KOREA ENDANGERS WORLD PEACE

Nehru Warns Against Spread Of War

RESENTMENT OVER HEAVY CIVILIAN CASUALTIES

People Urged To Follow Gandhian Ideals

(By Our Special Correspondent)

DELHI, Monday.—On this day, when the hearts of millions of men and women turn in grateful remembrance to Mahatma Gandhi whose birthday the nation celebrates today, Pandit Nehru highlighted the commemoration by making a fitting speech urging his countrymen to tread the path of peace and righteousness shown by Gandhiji.

Mostly in an introspective and self-questioning mood, during his 70-minute speech at Gandhi Grounds the Prime Minister spoke of many problems—of Korea and Kashmir, of Pakistan and refugees, of war and peace, of airy slogans and shibboleths, of Nasik and anti-social elements.

But what seemed mostly to come back to him again and again was Korea; he referred to it thrice. He was troubled over the world scene and said the peace of the world hung by a thread and it looked as though the world was dancing on the edge of a sword again.

There had been so much death, destruction and desolation in Korea that our main problem was how to save people from "saviours," he said.

The Prime Minister was giving expression to the anger and indignation among Asians against ruthless and indiscriminate bombing of civilians on Asian soil.

Korea was destroyed, and though the responsibility of this rested on those who attacked first, the "saviours," strangely enough, wrought the heaviest destruction. It was a queer world, he added.

The Prime Minister was anxious that the conflict be localized and that sparks from Korea might not start a conflagration elsewhere. There was a lot of anxiety everywhere, he said, for vast masses of people in various countries were against war.

Pandit Nehru justified his foreign policy and said that that policy in its own way had prevented the Korean trouble from spreading.

He thought it strange that great and powerful nations, with vast armies and piles of bombs and planes, were living in dread of each other. Fear, Mahatma Gandhi had taught us, he said, was the greatest of all evils. From it flowed lesser evils. How beautiful a place would this world be if fear was banished from the minds of men and nations. Prejudice, fear and hatred blinded nations and turned them one against the other.

Pandit Nehru said the Korean picture had changed and he did not know how far the U.N. forces would go. There was the danger of the

Continued on back page col. 5

Gandhi Jayanti in the capital —page 3

Nehru's Speech At Gandhi Grounds

Continued from page 1 col. 2

sparks of conflict flying about. It was a perplexing question as Korea had great neighbours—China and the U.S.S.R. Japan was there too, though it was not independent at present.

We, said the Prime Minister, were vigilant. There might be complaints that we were not siding with one or the other. But, surely, we were not keeping our eyes shut to the situation.

REFUGEES

The Prime Minister spoke of the refugee question and said full compensation to refugees for the losses in Pakistan was beyond the power of the nation. Of course, he emphasized, refugees had to be rehabilitated in a permanent way by giving them a firm footing in the economic set-up.

It was a great tragedy that the world was full of refugees today. There were ten million refugees in West Germany alone. Numerous people had been killed in Korea. And those that had survived had become refugees in their own land. Would peace come to Korea over its corpse? Pandit Nehru asked with great pathos in his voice.

He said the present was a time to keep alert and vigilant. All energy and resources had to be conserved to that end.

PAKISTAN PROPAGANDA

The Prime Minister referred to the "hysteria" in Pakistan after the publication of the Dixon report on Kashmir. He said he failed to understand this fear and this hysteria. But our own people, he suggested, should continue to remain calm.

The Prime Minister referred to his "No War" proposal to Pakistan and regretted that Pakistan had not agreed to the proposal. Some day, soon or late, both India and Pakistan would have to settle their disputes. At present trade between the two countries was at a standstill. The question of the par value of the Pakistan rupee still remained undecided.

Pandit Nehru also referred to the evacuee property and canal water disputes and said our suggestions had not been accepted by Pakistan. He mentioned the Indian proposal for appointing a high judicial tribunal of judges from Pakistan and India, to settle the canal water question, but he had not yet received any reply from Pakistan to his proposal.

War solves no problem, he declared. It was always advisable for the two countries to settle their disputes through negotiation, mediation, arbitration and such other peaceful methods. "Already world situation is sufficiently complicated and we are all walking on the edge of the sword," added the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister warned the people against dark forces of communalism and provincialism. He said they were not to lose themselves in petty things. He asked them to follow the teachings of the Father of the Nation who taught us not to harbour hatred even against the enemy.

The Prime Minister described the demand of a "Sikh State" as childish and said such a thing was not to be tolerated. They would not let the country fall to pieces.

NASIK CONGRESS SESSION

Pandit Nehru spoke of the Nasik session of the Congress and said though it had passed resolutions approving his economic and foreign policy and his stand in regard to communalism, he feared if those would be acted upon fully by all Congressmen or would remain mere "paper resolutions."

He appealed to the people and to Congressmen in particular, to give effect to the Nasik decisions. The country had to be saved from mutual strife. The chief aim of *swaraj* was to lift the economic level of the people. He cited the examples of Germans, Japanese and Americans who worked hard and produced more and more national wealth. "We have to admit to our shame that we are backward and are not so energetic and industrious," he said, and added that the solution of our many ills was to work hard and produce more.

ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

The Prime Minister spoke of the law against profiteering, black-marketing and hoarding. He admitted that the last war had particularly vitiated the atmosphere of Government offices and it had become difficult to control the evils. Unless a full measure of support and co-operation were coming from the people in combating anti-social practices, Pandit Nehru said, it would not be possible for the Government alone to check the evils. He appealed for public co-operation to make it impossible for anti-social elements to function.

Pandit Nehru said the Nasik session had made the duty of Congressmen clear. Their minds should not be too engrossed with the coming general elections, which, he hoped, would be held according to the present schedule by the end of May. They should follow the course set by the Nasik session. No one could then remove them from the right path, and if there were any who defected, there were enough people in the Congress who would resist such forces.

He warned that at a critical juncture as this in world situation, any wrong move might bring disaster to our nation.

"Today," said Pandit Nehru, "our thoughts go to the days when Gandhiji was with us. How much we miss him! Many thoughts and emotions crowd our hearts on this day. Tears come to our eyes. Shall we only shout *jais* to him and sit quiet, thinking that we have thus done our duty by him?"

THE FRONTIER GANDHI

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SITUATION IN KOREA ENDANGERS WORLD PEACE

Nehru Warns Against Spread Of War

RESENTMENT OVER HEAVY CIVILIAN CASUALTIES

People Urged To Follow Gandhian Ideals

(By Our Special Correspondent)

DELHI, Monday.—On this day, when the hearts of millions of men and women turn in grateful remembrance to Mahatma Gandhi whose birthday the nation celebrates today, Pandit Nehru highlighted the commemoration by making a fitting speech urging his countrymen to tread the path of peace and righteousness shown by Gandhiji.

Mostly in an introspective and self-questioning mood, during his 70-minute speech at Gandhi Grounds the Prime Minister spoke of many problems—of Korea and Kashmir, of Pakistan and refugees, of war and peace, of airy slogans and shibboleths, of Nasik and anti-social elements.

But what seemed mostly to come back to him again and again was Korea; he referred to it thrice. He was troubled over the world scene and said the peace of the world hung by a thread and it looked as though the world was dancing on the edge of a sword again.

There had been so much death, destruction and desolation in Korea that our main problem was how to save people from "saviours," he said.

The Prime Minister was giving expression to the anger and indignation among Asians against ruthless and indiscriminate bombing of civilians on Asian soil.

Korea was destroyed, and though the responsibility of this rested on those who attacked first, the "saviours," strangely enough, wrought the heaviest destruction. It was a queer world, he added.

The Prime Minister was anxious that the conflict be localized and that sparks from Korea might not start a conflagration elsewhere. There was

Gandhi Jayanti in the capital —page 3

a lot of anxiety everywhere, he said, for vast masses of people in various countries were against war.

Pandit Nehru justified his foreign policy and said that that policy in its own way had prevented the Korean trouble from spreading.

He thought it strange that great and powerful nations, with vast armies and piles of bombs and planes, were living in dread of each other. Fear, Mahatma Gandhi had taught us, he said, was the greatest of all evils. From it flowed lesser evils. How beautiful a place would this world be if fear was banished from the minds of men and nations. Prejudice, fear and hatred blinded nations and turned them one against the other.

Pandit Nehru said the Korean picture had changed and he did not know how far the U.N. forces would go. There was the danger of the

Continued on back page col. 5

Nehru's Speech At Gandhi Grounds

Continued from page 1 col. 7

sparks of conflict flying about. It was a perplexing question as Korea had great neighbours—China and the U.S.S.R. Japan was there too, though it was not independent at present.

We, said the Prime Minister, were vigilant. There might be complaints that we were not siding with one or the other. But, surely, we were not keeping our eyes shut to the situation.

REFUGEES

The Prime Minister spoke of the refugee question and said full compensation to refugees for the losses in Pakistan was beyond the power of the nation. Of course, he emphasized, refugees had to be rehabilitated in a permanent way by giving them a firm footing in the economic set-up.

It was a great tragedy that the world was full of refugees today. There were ten million refugees in West Germany alone. Numerous people had been killed in Korea. And those that had survived had become refugees in their own land. Would peace come to Korea over its corpse? Pandit Nehru asked with great pathos in his voice.

He said the present was a time to keep alert and vigilant. All energy and resources had to be conserved to that end.

PAKISTAN PROPAGANDA

The Prime Minister referred to the "hysteria" in Pakistan after the publication of the Dixon report on Kashmir. He said he failed to understand this fear and this hysteria. But our own people, he suggested, should continue to remain calm.

The Prime Minister referred to his "No War" proposal to Pakistan and regretted that Pakistan had not agreed to the proposal. Some day, soon or late, both India and Pakistan would have to settle their disputes. At present trade between the two countries was at a standstill. The question of the par value of the Pakistan rupee still remained undecided.

Pandit Nehru also referred to the evacuee property and canal water disputes and said our suggestions had not been accepted by Pakistan. He mentioned the Indian proposal for appointing a high judicial tribunal of judges from Pakistan and India, to settle the canal water question, but he had not yet received any reply from Pakistan to his proposal.

War solves no problem, he declared. It was always advisable for the two countries to settle their disputes through negotiation, mediation, arbitration and such other peaceful methods. "Already world situation is sufficiently complicated and we are all walking on the edge of the sword," added the Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister warned the people against dark forces of communalism and provincialism. He said they were not to lose themselves in petty things. He asked them to follow the teachings of the Father of the Nation who taught us not to harbour hatred even against the enemy.

The Prime Minister described the demand of a "Sikh State" as childish and said such a thing was not to be tolerated. They would not let the country fall to pieces.

NASIK CONGRESS SESSION

Pandit Nehru spoke of the Nasik session of the Congress and said though it had passed resolutions approving his economic and foreign policy and his stand in regard to communalism, he feared if those would be acted upon fully by all Congressmen or would remain mere "paper resolutions".

He appealed to the people and to Congressmen in particular, to give effect to the Nasik decisions. The country had to be saved from mutual strife. The chief aim of swaraj was to lift the economic level of the people. He cited the examples of Germans, Japanese and Americans who worked hard and produced more and more national wealth. "We have to admit to our shame that we are backward and are not so energetic and industrious," he said, and added that the solution of our many ills was to work hard and produce more.

ANTI-SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

The Prime Minister spoke of the law against profiteering, black-marketing and hoarding. He admitted that the last war had particularly vitiated the atmosphere of Government offices and it had become difficult to control the evils. Unless a full measure of support and co-operation were coming from the people in combating anti-social practices, Pandit Nehru said, it would not be possible for the Government alone to check the evils. He appealed for public co-operation to make it impossible for anti-social elements to function.

Pandit Nehru said the Nasik session had made the duty of Congressmen clear. Their minds should not be too engrossed with the coming general elections, which, he hoped, would be held according to the present schedule by the end of May. They should follow the course set by the Nasik session. No one could then remove them from the right path, and if there were any who deflected, there were enough people in the Congress who would resist such forces.

He warned that at a critical juncture as this in world situation, any wrong move might bring disaster to our nation.

"Today," said Pandit Nehru, "our thoughts go to the days when Gandhiji was with us. How much we miss him! Many thoughts and emotions crowd our hearts on this day. Tears come to our eyes. Shall we only shout jais to him and sit quiet, thinking that we have thus done our duty by him?"

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Pandit Nehru began his speech by asking the audience to shout with utmost vigour *Jai Hind* after him. The response was magnificent.

The *Jana Gana Mana* was sung at the end.

The President of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee, Mr Radha Raman, and Mr Brij Lal Nehru, and Mr Deshbandhu Gupta, also addressed the gathering.

BHARAT

Tuesday, October 3, 1950

"BAPU'S SOLDIERS"

PANDIT NEHRU and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel have both done well in giving a timely and necessary quietus to the highly fanciful and tendentious reports of differences and rifts, fabricated by interested parties with an eye to sectional gains. These fairy tales might have been dismissed with the contemptuous silence that they deserved but for the fact that they had shown a tendency of late to batten on any and every whisper, wink or wisp of rumour and grow into an omnibus national legend, thanks as much to the assistance of certain disgruntled, power-greedy groups in the Congress as to the mendacity of envious scandal-mongers outside. If the former sought pre-eminence for themselves through an imagined rupture, the latter looked for national chaos; but where both went woefully wrong was in projecting their own petty, scheming selves into the fibre of the top leadership. In exploding the myth, Pandit Nehru's was largely an intellectual approach. He said, "I know there are "differences in approach, but "it is not correct to say that "there are two groups. Intelli-"gent men are not normally "'yesmen'." The Sardar, the loyal and valiant warrior that he has always been in "Gandhiji's Freedom Army," had a movingly self-effacing and tender note to strike. Denying all rumours of differences, at Indore, he said, "I "have been referred to as the "Deputy Prime Minister. I "never think in those terms. "Our own leader is Jawaharlal "Nehru. Bapu appointed him "as his successor in his life-time "and proclaimed him as such. "It is the duty of all of Bapu's "soldiers to carry out Bapu's "request. Whoever does not "accept it from his heart in that "spirit will be a sinner before "God." Could anything be more noble and categorical than that? Indeed, it is this spirit that has been keeping the formidable team at the centre together through endless crises and calamities; and it is this spirit, devout and self-forgetful, that holds the greatest promise to this free land. Would that others too could imbibe a trace of it!

At the bottom of all the wishful quest for differences and breaches at the top is the hectic scramble for power and position in certain lower strata of the Congress. Referring to this, the Sardar said that those who entered the 'mad race for "power" and indulged in "petty "squabbles" were guilty of straying from the path of service shown by Mahatmaji, and added that though work in the Governmental sphere had its value, it could not be made an end in itself. It is on the strength as much of silent, self-sacrificing, constructive work in the countryside as of its success in the freedom struggle that the Congress is in office today; and should that primary task come to be neglected now, even the dream of power would float away. After all, whether as a Minister or a field-worker, it is only hard work and worry that the Congressman faces; and between the two, it is the latter that has any chance of doing something tangible and immediate and even winning a little appreciation, and what is more, a sense of genuine satisfaction.

It is in the villages that India lives, a fact which Gandhiji was never tired of stressing; and it is there, and not at the seats of authority nor in their immediate neighbourhood, that the work of national regeneration has to be undertaken and pursued. Ministers may come and go, but that work, grounded in the soil and solid in character, will live for ever, and ultimately make of India the ideal state that Mahatmaji dreamed of and tirelessly strove for. An institution like Kasturbagram, turning out trained workers for rural development activities among womenfolk and children, the most neglected in the land, can do more for our country's progress than some of the imposing paper schemes that are churned out of our Ministerial cubicles. And it would be some acknowledgement of the debt that the nation owes not only to Bapu, but also to that noble, self-sacrificing lady, Kasturba, who stood by him with rare determination and devotion through all his trials, and became a symbol of all that is best in Indian womanhood. In honouring them, the nation honours itself, and in following their path, it will fulfil itself too, be the initial difficulties and obstacles howsoever overwhelming. After all, it is such problems that make a nation great by evoking the best in it and challenging it to face them all with a smile. And today when our hearts are stirred by the memory of Bapu and our spirit roused to respond to his undying call, here is something the Sardar, his devoted lieutenant, said which we might well ponder over. "It is only when we think "of India as a whole and not in "terms of smaller areas, when "there is no distinction of caste "or creed between the ruler and "the people, between the rich "and the poor, and when we "consider the whole country as "the country of us all, of which "we are children—then alone "can we establish Ram Raj "which was uppermost in "Gandhiji's dreams."

Indian News Chronicle
6.10.50

Gandhi Jayanti Celebrations In Afghanistan & Burma

KABUL, Oct. 5.—High tributes to the teachings and services of Mahatma Gandhi were paid by some members of the Foreign Missions and the Afghan Government on the occasion of Gandhi Jayanti celebrated under the auspices of the Indian Embassy. Shrimati Rupchand presided. Abdul Hadi Khan Dawi, President, Afghan National Assembly addressing said, "Gandhiji's ceaseless efforts for Hindu-Muslim unity will be written in letters of gold. He was a great friend of Afghans and had this country's interest always near his heart".

Iranian Ambassador M. Ansari said, "We salute Gandhiji as essentially a man of peace. Great men like him do not die. His mighty soul will ever watch over world and guide it on right lines. He achieved deathless fame by laying down his life for communal fraternity".

Minister of Saudi Arabia Faudel Khatib declared that Gandhiji belonged to entire humanity and represented world consciousness. Speaking on this occasion the Indian Ambassador declared that Gandhiji echoed teachings of Mohammad, Christ and Buddha. He urged Indian nationals, present, to follow Gandhiji's teachings. Shrimati Rupchand in her address emphasised the significance of the day and referred to the services rendered by Gandhiji to raise Indian women's status.

Amongst those present in the large gathering were the Diplomatic Corps and the Afghan Government members. The function started with recitations from holy scriptures and ended with singing of National Anthem.

BURMA

A Rangoon message says that Gandhi Jayanti was celebrated by Indians in many parts of Burma on Monday. In Rangoon, the celebrations began in the morning with the Indian Ambassador, Dr. Rauf, unveiling a portrait of Gandhiji in the presence of a large gathering in Jamal Cinema Hall. Dr. Rauf spoke on the life and work of Gandhiji. The audience was shown documentary films on Gandhiji's life.

The highlight of the day's programme was a public meeting organised by the All-Burma Indian Congress in Ramakrishna Mission Hall. Addressing the meeting, Dr. Rauf stressed the importance of love, truth and non-violence which Gandhiji preached and practised. He said that had Gandhiji been alive today, he would have turned all his energies towards the redress of the earthquakes and flood-stricken people of Assam. He appealed for contributions to the Earthquake Sufferers' Relief Fund.

Referring to the home and foreign policies of the Indian Government, the Indian Ambassador said that Pandit Nehru, who had been a disciple of Gandhiji for several years, was following in the administration and foreign relations Gandhian ideals.

On Sunday evening, at a public meeting arranged by the students and staff of the Indian Educational Society Central School, a donation of Rs. 777 contributed by the school boys for the Assam Earthquake Relief Fund, was presented to the Ambassador.

EAST AFRICA

A Nairobi message says:

Gandhi Jayanti was observed at all important towns in East Africa. The Indian Commissioner hoisted the National Flag at Kisumu (Kenya). In Nairobi, a Gandhi exhibition and prayer meeting formed part of the programme. At a meeting at Yervada a charkha auctioned fetched 500 shillings for Assam relief.

Kenya alone has contributed so far, 60,000 shillings. Collections of clothes by the Asian Women's Association has proved a great success.

2-11-50

GANDHISM TODAY: AN ANALYSIS

By
FRANCIS WATSON

Francis Watson, the author of this article, has written a dozen books of biography and criticism. He is well known in India where he spent a couple of years travelling about the country and writing before he joined the Government of India for temporary war service. Early in 1946 he returned to Britain.

Mr. Watson has also travelled widely in Europe, the Middle East, East Africa and America. He broadcasts regularly in the Eastern Services of the B.B.C. One of his many interests is art, and he has written many articles about Indian art. He was for a time Director of the Arts Department of the British Council in London, but is now once more a full-time writer and broadcaster.

SOON after the beginning of the Korean War, I sat up late one night, trying to think out what Mahatma Gandhi might have said, or done, in the world situation that we are now facing without him. I took down his own writings from my bookshelf, and some of the books written by others about him, and I got out the notes that I had made of my meetings with him years ago.

I had no idea, that evening, that on the following day I should be talking to his son, Devadas Gandhi. I did not even know that Devadas Gandhi was in London for a few days. But when I did meet him, almost the first words he said to me were: "If my father were alive today, he would have gone to Moscow."

Two Assumptions

Something of the same thought had been running through my own mind. But I realised that it involved two assumptions.

The first assumption was that the Russians would give him travel facilities and admit him to discussion with their leaders. In view of Moscow's concern to influence public opinion outside the U.S.S.R. it might be that they would hardly have refused.

The second assumption was that Gandhiji himself would decide that the cause of peace might be served by his personal intervention in international affairs. He never showed any hesitation about placing himself in the very storm-centre of a problem while he was alive. But he had found those storm-centres among his own people or in their direct concerns.

I have always thought that one of the most significant things about Mahatma Gandhi was the concentration of his life's work upon the needs of his own country. His was a universal figure with a universal influence. But he recognised the task before him and did not dissipate his energies. Even the great doctrine of non-violence, which could make an ideal appeal to all humanity, had a special practical reference to India's position in the last 25 years before independence, and in the first stage of developing and preserving nationhood.

Clear Principles

That is my personal view. It is the view of a Westerner who discovered, or thought he discovered Gandhi through the Indian villages, and the Indian villagers through Gandhi. I may easily be wrong. Indeed, anyone may be wrong in trying to relate Gandhi and Gandhism to a particular situation. For surely his life was what he called it—a series of experiments. The experiments were undertaken with the full force of his free personality. There were clear principles behind them, but even he did not pretend to foresee the application of those principles to any given event.

"Even so, the principles themselves may give us some clue," I believe that one of them was a faith in internationalism based on nationalism—that is to say, on a purified, non-aggressive nationalism. "National independence," he said, "is as necessary as individual independence," and again and again he showed that both those freedoms involve responsibilities.

A fully developed nationalism attained by just and lawful means was the first step; then comes voluntary interdependence with other nations for the good of the whole world. "Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact, i.e. when peoples belonging to different countries have organised themselves and are able to act together." A free India, voluntarily associated with the Commonwealth and playing her full part in a world-wide organisation of nations for peace—this, surely, was the goal to which he pointed.

India's Contribution

Gandhiji believed that India had a special and pacific contribution to make to the future, that all men of goodwill desire. "Peace I want among all mankind," he wrote, "but I do not want peace at any cost, and certainly not by placating the aggressor or at the cost of honour."

What, then, of non-violence? One could write at enormous length of the Mahatma's absolute devotion to *ahimsa*. The light within him burned steady and clear. I can only say that I can conceive situations in which though he himself would take no part in military action, he would not condemn those who did so. The clearest example of such a situation would be that in which an aggressor refusing an international summons to withdraw, is opposed by the united decision of free nations.

To me it seems that the question of armed aggression and interference between one nation and another is, at this stage of the world's history, the most vital and immediate one. Others, I know, see the whole problem in terms of political relief—to be Communists or not to be Communists.

How can Gandhism solve that conflict? I can see the beaming smile with which he would describe himself as a revolutionary in some matters, a conservative, in others. He thought Lenin a "master-spirit," but regarded Tolstoy that he felt kinship, because Tolstoy believed in a new social order as a function of human love, not as a function of blind economic forces.

No Violent Short-Cuts

The power of work and the power of capital should be balanced—that is how I read Gandhi's answers to so many questions on the subject. He saw the problem of unjust inequalities in the possibility of human partnership. He spoke of "democracy disciplined and enlightened" as "the finest thing in the world." He refused to face short-cuts, especially violent short-cuts, towards an ideal situation.

It was this that most people shocked orthodox Communists. Voluntary modifications of the system were to them almost blasphemous. "Such ideas," said one critic (P. Spratt), "are obviously remnants of Mr. Gandhi's Victorian upbringing." Yet the evidence accumulated, before the decades of violence took Gandhiji's life, that he was nearer to the truth than any Communist dogma.

Gandhi's immense concern for the masses, his hold over them, his understanding of their material and spiritual needs, left Communism almost speechless. "The peasant type is an objectionable type, primitive and brutish," was all that they could stammer. But Gandhi saw in the peasant a free man, free to give his labour, free to enjoy the fruits of it, free to think and worship as his conscience bade him. "Communism of the Russian type," he wrote, "that is Communism which is imposed on a people, would be repugnant to India."

Meaning Of Imperialism

And that is what he would be facing today in our world—Communism of the Russian type imposing itself on many nations and threatening still further expansion; a denial of the enlightened nationalism for which he worked, a denial of the free human spirit. And at the same time Gandhiji saw the virtue in Communist ideals, so he was swift to detect the perversion of ideals for impure purposes of power.

None knew better than he the real meaning of imperialism. My own countrymen have no illusions about that unyielding fight of his. He denounced it when it showed itself in Japan, and he would not have failed to see the corruption of power which has made the U.S.S.R. into a centralised imperialism.

Just before the World War, I asked him what the British should do for peace. "Give up your ill-got ten gains," he replied. I think I argued that that was what we hoped we were doing, and that not all of those "gains" were ill-gotten in the sense that he intended. But if we could imagine him going to Moscow today and being asked by the rulers in the Kremlin what they should do for peace, would he not give a similar answer?

MAHATMA GANDHI'S LIFE TO BE FILMED

Bernard Shaw's Great Wish To Collaborate With Project

From ANDREW KIDD

Special to "The Times of India"

LONDON, November 8.

AS George Bernard Shaw lay dying a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi was on the mantelpiece by his bedside. One of the ambitions of his last years, it can now be revealed, was to collaborate in a film about the Mahatma.

Mr. Gabriel Pascal, the Hungarian-born producer who has put several of Shaw's films on the screen, flew specially from the United States on November 2 to give G.B.S. the news that the Gandhi film would definitely be made. To his bitter disappointment he arrived a few hours too late. Shaw was dead.

Mr. Pascal told me, "The project will go on as Mr. Shaw would have wished. Mahatma Gandhi was still alive when G.B.S. first urged me to make this film. After the Mahatma's assassination, Mr. Shaw became more and more insistent. He said that no film could have a more urgent message for the world and that I should give it priority above all my plans for filming more of his own plays like Saint Joan, The Devil's Disciple, Arms And The Man and The Doctor's Dilemma. He offered to collaborate with me to the fullest extent. Just send me he said, 'A first draft of the Gandhi scenario and I will do whatever I can.'"

VISIT TO INDIA

So Mr. Pascal was finally persuaded and spent last August and September in India. These were the two most crowded months of his life, he told me. He had long talks with members of Mahatma Gandhi's family, his friends and disciples, visited the many places where he had lived and served; examined some 20,000 feet of newsreel in which he had appeared from time to time and listened to recordings of his speeches.

But most important of all were Mr. Pascal's talks with Mr. Nehru. "Mr. Nehru," he said, "has given me a free hand. I told him that my concept was a straightforward portrait of a man who had striven unceasingly for world peace and tolerance and that I would not be concerned at all with political issues. Mr. Nehru approved this concept heartily and kindly promised me the fullest cooperation of the Indian authorities. Everyone I spoke to in India was most enthusiastic about the project.

"The film will be made in India with an Indian and English cast. I have already an Indian actor in mind to play the part of Mahatma Gandhi. The resemblance is most striking. But I am keeping his name a secret for the present. I have approached Ben Harrigon to play an important English personage. As for the title, I think I will choose 'Lead Kindly Light'—the hymn with which Mahatma Gandhi opened his prayer meetings."

Mr. Pascal plans to make the film on a scale to match the mighty subject. Preparatory work will start at once and Mr. Pascal hopes that the actual shooting will begin towards the end of next year. It will be his next task after completing the filming mainly in Rome of his current Shaw production "Androcles And The Lion."

Mr. Pascal once saw the Mahatma address a meeting. They never met. But such was the impression he got that he remembers every detail of that meeting. Mahatma Gandhi and George Bernard Shaw, he said, were the two men who had meant most to him in his life.

Bombay Chronicle 24-11

4

GANDHIJI'S SISTER WAS FORGOTTEN!

NEW DELHI, Nov. 24 (UPI).

SHRI R. VELAYUDHAN (Madras) supporting Mr. Kamath's resolution in Parliament today asking for relief to destitute families of political sufferers, narrated a "simple, shocking tale" about the elder sister of Mahatma Gandhi, who at one time after the death of the Father of the Nation was selling paper in the streets of Saurashtra.

He said Gandhiji used to send Rs. 200/- every month regularly to his sister, who had none to look after her. When he (the speaker) and his wife went to Rajkot to see Gandhiji's abode, they found her in such pitiable condition that they gave her Rs. 20/-. She had not even a cot to sleep on. Now the Saurashtra Government had given her a subsidy of Rs. 50/- per month. But that was too inadequate for her because she was too old to cook or to wash her clothes or to go to the market and she could not afford to have a servant on Rs. 50/-.

Like this, he added, there were thousands of pitiable cases in this country.

MAHADEVBHAI'S DIARIES—X

Bapu Studies Upanishads—Knowledge Of Self —Faith In God—Woman's Role—Smoking "A Bad Habit"—Miraben On Grandeur Of The Ganges

TRANSLATED BY PARAMANAND DESAI (By Kind Permission Of The Navjivan Trust)

JULY 15, 1932.

TODAY I saw Bapu transcribing the Isha Upanishad. When I asked him why he was doing so, he answered: "I want to commit it to memory. Moreover, I cannot carry this book everywhere with me. These bits of paper I can."

For some days past Bapu has been studying Vedanta and the Upanishads. He showed me this afternoon a hymn from the Shwetashwethar Upanishad:

"Yada charmavadakdsham
veshtayishyanthi manavah
"Tada devamavijnaya
dukhasyantho bhavishyathi."

Commenting on this, Bapu said: "There is evidence in this of the profound intellectualism of the period of the Upanishads. Truly is it impossible to end misery without knowledge of Self. This is emphasised by the suggestion of something equally impossible. As the hymn puts it, only when man can wrap the sky around him like his skin will it be possible for him without enlightenment to put an end to his misery. The hymn might be interpreted in several other ways. But isn't even this literal interpretation striking?"

Yes, it is true that the definition of Self in the Isha and Shwethashwetar Upanishads has no parallel anywhere else in the literature of the world.

Faith In God

July 18, 1932.

There was a long letter from Esther today. I liked one sentence in it very much. "How I wish I could repose as much faith in God as my two little daughters repose in me!" Every morning our little kittens entwine themselves around our legs and mee-aow for milk and when they do not get any milk they make a terrific din. That impresses upon me the quality of faith in little ones.

Bapu's reply to Esther reflects his western outlook on small matters:

"You tell me how desolate Bajaj's house looked for want of woman's touch. I have always considered this to be the result of our false notions of division of work between men and women. Division there must be. But this utter helplessness on the man's part when it comes to keeping a household in good order and woman's helplessness when it is a matter of looking after herself (more here than in the West) are due to erroneous upbringing. Why should a man be so lazy as not to keep his house neat, if there is no woman to look after it, or why should a woman feel that she always needs a man as protector? This anomaly seems to me to be due to the habit of regarding woman as fit primarily for house-keeping and of thinking that she must lead a soft life, feel weak and be always in need of protection. We are trying to create a different atmosphere at the Ashram. It is difficult work. But it seems to be worth doing."

On Smoking

July 19, 1932.

Today Clayton was here on a visit. How very sweet his talk was. He would not utter a single sentence without the appellations 'Mahatma' or 'Sardar Saheb'. He brought flowers for Mrs. Naidu from his wife. He offered one from his button-hole to Bapu. "If I were Sir Samuel Hoare," he said, "I would tell the Moderates, 'Well, if you do not want anything, I have nothing to give you'."

We chatted about various things. He volunteered the information that tobacco seeds were imported from Havana and that cigarettes in India were made out of good tobacco. "Is smoking a vice?" Clayton asked Bapu, to which Bapu answered with a smile: "It is a bad habit." Clayton then remarked: "No, no, it keeps one away from mischief, even as the *chaukha* keeps you away. When I come to jail and don't smoke—as I don't—I have a bad day, losing my temper and feeling out of sorts."

* * *

Today the mail was delivered almost uncensored. There was a letter from Miraben written from Chhapra, in which she described how she had been served with notice to quit the place within 12 hours; how she had not been arrested even after the expiry of the notice period at midnight; how she had been allowed to catch the train for Benares next morning; and how she expected a third notice in Benares. Her description of the Ganges as she saw it during a morning stroll would put to shame even the most pious devotee:

"Yesterday morning I had a heavenly early morning walk by the bank of the Ganga. People may laugh at the idea of there being anything special about holy places—but they should just take that walk with their eyes open. The Ganga, blue and sparkling with the golden tints of the rising sun as he catches her little wavelets breaking themselves with the voice of happy bells against the velvety grey sand bank; the azure sky overhead, intensified with the highly gathering rain clouds; the exquisitely soft air prelude in caressing waffs across the fields; and the mighty trees—finer than one sees anywhere else—stretching their venerable arms to heaven, and joining in the morning hymn of praise with the rustling of their myriad leaves. All thoughts of self were swept away and one rejoiced and felt one's being throb in oneness with the whole of nature."

"Well, is she not a poetess and a painter as well?"

(To be continued in "Sunday Bharat" of July 23.)

Bharat Jyoti

BOMBAY, SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1950

THE MASTER-BUILDER

This is a true Gandhian story.

It was the year of grace, 1919, soon after the Jallianwala tragedy.

Martial law had been proclaimed in the Punjab; the tale of the Punjab atrocities had stirred the national mind.

There was a growing demand for a militant lead by Gandhiji.

Gandhiji's first order was to suspend the Rowlatt Act Satyagraha; he appealed to the country to be calm and to maintain peace.

Gandhiji's directives did not appeal to a body of youngmen, who felt that the dictates of national honour demanded an immediate, spectacular, militant programme.

The young men waited in deputation on Gandhiji. The spokesmen for the group put forward the young men's point of view.

Gandhiji gave the young men a patient hearing. Discussion centred on the question of responsibility for the mob violence, which had led to the conflagration.

The young men argued that the violence of the British rule had generated the forces of mob violence.

Gandhiji was clear in his mind; mob violence would only perpetuate British rule.

Mob violence would never stand up to British Might; it would result in a demoralisation of the people: it would breed cowardice.

The young men wanted to register an effective protest against the Punjab disorders; they could not think of a more effective protest than a spectacular defiance of the Punjab martial law regime.

Gandhiji, while patient, was firm; he told the young men: you remind me of uncharted travellers, who enter a forest and losing their way, wander and wander, get deeper and deeper into the forest and reach a stage, when they have no longer the energy to wander and are compelled to write themselves off.

The young men did not accept the validity of the analogy; to them, their call for a militant programme was the need of the hour.

Such a programme may lead to the death and imprisonment of the young volunteers, but it would arouse the national consciousness to such an extent, that the whole country would rise in revolt and sweep off the British rule.

Gandhiji said that things were not so simple; an Empire was not overthrown in that way. It would only involve the sacrifice of the valuable lives of hundreds and thousands of young men.

The young men said: we do not value our lives; we would gladly sacrifice them to avenge the Punjab wrongs.

Gandhiji's reply was: it is the duty of the General to make the best use of his army; a General, who sacrifices his army uselessly, is not fit to be a General.

The young men did not understand Gandhiji's values, they asked Gandhiji to make them to understand the working of his mind.

Gandhiji said: you are emotional; you are willing to throw away your lives; you are not willing, however, to dedicate your lives to the service of the country.

If you are introspective, you will realise that you are selfish, you are lazy and you shirk hard work.

The young men protested and said that they were willing to dedicate their lives to the service of the country.

Gandhiji said: let me prove my case; let us assume that I have given you the permission to proceed to the Punjab to defy the martial law regime: what would happen?

The young men said: we may be shot; Gandhiji said: it is unlikely; you do not get martyrdom so cheaply.

The young men said: we may be arrested, tried and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

Gandhiji said: that is more likely; imagine to yourselves that you have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

You will have to lead a strenuous life as prisoners; you will be no longer masters of your time.

The young men agreed that it would be so and assured Gandhiji that they would cheerfully face the rigours of prison life.

Gandhiji's reply was: well, imagine that you have been sentenced to three years of imprisonment and give me the benefit of your full time services in the cause of the nation for a period of three years: you shall be my prisoners and you shall cheerfully perform the task, which I allot to you; you shall be fed and clothed on the scale of the prisoners.

The young men said: it will be easier for us to submit to prison life; it will not be so easy to be your voluntary prisoners and to work on your terms; no sooner, we are free men, there would be so many claims upon us, that we will not be able to be your full time workers.

Gandhiji said: you are, then, disqualified to offer yourselves for Satyagraha; no wise General will use such raw material as you.

The young men learnt their lesson; there is a moral for the leaders of the nation also.

Free India needs to revolutionise her economic, social and political values.

That revolution cannot be achieved through a policy of wrecking, violence and disorder.

That revolution has to be achieved, by building a brick upon a brick, by slow hard work.

The hard way, in which, the Ahmedabad textile labour was organised into a strong, healthy and self-reliant trade union, is a standing testimony to the true Gandhian technique.

The hard way, in which, Khadi was organised into a national industry, through the All-India Spinners' Association is a standing monument to the Gandhian technique.

The strides, which the Hindi Prachar Sabha has made in South India is another monument to the Gandhian technique.

Free India needs today an extension of the Gandhian technique in every walk of life.

Gandhiji was a master builder: he was not a master wrecker, as he is represented to be.

India News Chronicle 28-11-50

Tuesday, November 28, 1950

MEMORIAL TO GANDHIJI AT RAJGHAT

Proposed Bill To Create Statutory Body

Special To NEWS CHRONICLE

NEW DELHI, Monday.—The Rs. 50-lakh scheme for constructing and maintaining a befitting memorial to Mahatma Gandhi on the site of the present shrine at Rajghat covering an area of 100 acres, will be entrusted to a statutory body. The Government of India are planning to create this body as a result of a Special Bill to be presented to Parliament during the present session, afterit is approved by the Cabinet.

The statutory body, of which the Chief Commissioner of Delhi will be the President, will consist of representatives of Government and a few non-officials representing the Congress Working Committee, the Gandhi Sarvodya Sabha and the Gandhi Memorial Fund. It will be entrusted not only with the maintenance and upkeep of the present shrine and the adjoining park on which Rs. 5 lakhs have already been spent, but also with acquiring nearly 100 acres of land in the vicinity extending upto the middle of the outer wall of the Red Fort, and for erecting on it a suitable memorial in memory of the Father of Free India.

Suggestions, as to the form this memorial should take, have already been received from various quarters and material regarding design and construction of similar memorials in other countries like the Lincoln and Washington memorials in the U.S.A., the Lenin memorial in Moscow, is being obtained by the Ministry of Works, Mines and Power for the benefit of the committee.

It is also felt that the present manner in which the existing shrine and park are being managed is extremely unsatisfactory and in several respects unbecoming the memory of the great man to pay homage to whom hundreds of people gather every day, some of them from distant parts of the world.

The committee will also decide as to whether the present practice of making offerings and money at the shrine should be permitted or not. It appears that while the Prime Minister is strongly opposed to permitting this and other practices which might develop into a superstitious worship of the Mahatma, several of the admirers of the great leader feel that such offerings should be accepted for a special fund for the uplift of the Harijans.—P.N.F.